Imprimatur.

Ex Æd. Sab.
11 *Sept.* 1662.

Geo. Stradling S. Th. P. Rev.
in Xto Pat. *Gilb.* Epiſc. *Lond.*
à Sac. Domeſtic.

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1.

CHOREA GIGANTUM;

OR,

The most Famous Antiquity of

GREAT-BRITAN,

Vulgarly called

STONE-HENG,

Standing on *Salisbury* Plain,

Restored to the

DANES;

By *Walter Charleton*, Dr. in Physic, and Physician in Ordinary to His Majesty.

Quæ per constructionem lapidum, & marmoreas moles, aut terrenos tumulos in magnam eductos altitudinem, constant; non propagabunt longam diem: quippe & ipsa intereunt.

Seneca, de Consolat. ad Polyb.

LONDON,
Printed for *Henry Herringman*, at the Sign of the *Anchor* in the Lower Walk of the *New Exchange*. 1663.

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To the *KING*'s Most Excellent

MAJESTY.

YOUR Majesties Curiosity *to survey the Subject of this Discourse, the so much admired Antiquity of* STONE-HENG, *hath sometime been so great and urgent, as to find a room in Your Royal Breast, amidst Your weightiest Cares; and to carry You many miles out of Your way toward* Safety, *even at such*

a

a time, when any Heart, but your Fearleſs and Invincible one, would have been wholly fill'd with apprehenſions of Danger. *For, as I have had the Honour to hear from that Oracle of Truth and Wiſdom, Your* Majeſtie's *own Mouth; You were pleaſed to viſit that* Monument, *and, for many hours together, entertain Your ſelf with the delightful view thereof, when after the defeat of Your Loyal Army, at* Worceſter, *Almighty God, in Infinite Mercy to Your three Kingdoms, miraculouſly delivered You out of the bloody Jaws of thoſe* Monſters *of* Sin *and* Cruelty, *who taking Counſel onely from the Heinouſneſs of their* Crimes, *ſought* Impunity *in the higheſt* Aggravation *of them;*

them; desperately hoping to secure Rebellion *by* Regicide, *and by destroying their* Soveraign, *to continue their* Tyranny *over their Fellow-Subjects.*

This, as at first it animated Me, to make strict Enquiry into the Origine, *and* Occasion *of the* Wonder (*so the Vulgar call it*) *so far as the gloomy darkness of Oblivion would admit; so hath it now emboldned me, to lay at Your Majesties Feet the following Account of my* Success *in that Enquiry: in all possible Humility and Reverence, beseeching You to Honour, with Your Gracious* Acceptance, *the* Restoration *of that Gigantick Pile, whose dead Remains You so highly*

ly Ennobled by Your Preſence. *Once You made it Your Diverſement, to look upon it ſleeping in deep* Forgetfulneſs, *and well-nigh diſanimated by the* Lethargy *of Time* (*which often brings the River* Lethe *to flow as well above ground, as below*): *Diſdain not, therefore, now to caſt an Eye upon it, when it appears to lift up its maßive Head again, and offers, in plain Language, to tell You the Story of its Life, from* whence *it was derived, by* whom *it was formed, for what noble* Uſe *it was intended, and* how *it hath ſince been ſacrilegiouſly violated. Which* Story, *though grounded onely on* Conjecture; *is nevertheleß neither* Unpleaſant, *nor* Unprofitable.

Having

Having diligently compared STONE-HENG *with other Antiquities of the ſame Kind, at this day, ſtanding in* Denmark; *and finding a perfect* Reſemblance *in moſt, if not in all Particulars obſervable, on both ſides; and acquainting my ſelf moreover with the* Uſes *of thoſe rudely-magnificent Structures, for many hundreds of years together: I now at length conceive it to have been Erected by the DANES, when They had this Nation in ſubjection; and principally, if not wholly Deſign'd to be a* Court Royal, *or place for the* Election *and* Inauguration *of their* Kings; *according to a certain ſtrange* Cuſtome, *yet of eldeſt* Date, *moſt ſa-*

a cred

cred Esteem, *and but late* Discontinuance *among that Martial People.*

Whether, or no, my Authorities *and* Reasonings *for this* New *Opinion of mine, be such, as may be allowed sufficient to render it highly* Probable (*for, further* I *pretend not*) : *as becomes me,* I *most humbly, most freely submit to Your Majesty's most Excellent* Judgement, *in which You are no less* Supreme, *than in Your* Power; *and than which, none can be either more* Discerning, *or more* Equitable. *So that if it prove so fortunate, as to receive Your* Approbation, *I need not fear the Censure of any Understanding*

ſtanding Reader: if not, I ſhall however gain this advantage, to have my Miſtake rectifi'd by a King, whoſe Reaſons are Demonſtrations, whoſe Enquiries are the beſt Directions unto Truth, whoſe Aſſent always is a ſign of Truth, and to whoſe other Regal Prerogatives an admirable Wiſdom hath ſuperadded this, that He is leſs ſubject to be impoſed upon, than any other Man.

In the mean time, and ever, according to my Duty, I ſhall earneſtly pray to Almighty God, that He would be pleaſed to enrich Your Sacred Majeſty, with all Bleſſings anſwerable to the Largeneſs of Your Mind, to the Sublimity of Your Condition, to the

the VVeight *of Your* Charge, *to the* Multitude *of Your* Virtues, *and to the* Hopes *and* Wiſhes *of all Your Good* Subjects.

April the 27th
1662.

Your Majeſties

moſt Loyal, moſt Obedient,
moſt Humble,

Subject and Servant,

WALTER CHARLETON.

To my worthy Friend, Dr. Charleton, *on his clear Discovery of* Stone-heng *to have been a* DANISH Court-Royal, *for the Election of Kings, and not a* Roman Temple, *as ſuppoſed by* Mr. Inigo Jones.

HOw much obliging is Your learned Care!
Still buſie to *preſerve*, or to *repair*;
Which unto *Men* not onely life can give,
But makes their *Monuments* themſelves to live.
Health comes to them by Your immortal aim:
And to their Actions *Truth*, the health of Fame.
~~The ſickly World ſeems thus Reſtor'd by Thee;~~
Whilſt thy large *Soul*, like its Eternity,
On waſting *Time* atchievs new Victories,
Which buried now in its own ruins lyes.

Nor wert Thou to engage with *Time* alone;
But that which kept the Wonder more unknown,
Mens Errors; which are ſtill the greateſt crime,
And more deſtroy the truth of things, than Time.

For, if unskilful hands too rashly rake
In antique rubbish, every bold mistake
Hides what they seek, and loses it far more,
By the new ruine, than the old before.

Nor is Thy Stone-hero a less Wonder grown,
Though once a *Temple* thought, now prov'd a *Throne*:
Since we, who are so blest with *Monarchy*,
Must gladly learn, from Thy Discovery,
That great *Respects* not onely have been found
Where *Gods* were *Worship'd*, but where *Kings* were *Crown'd*.

Rob. Howard.

To

To my Honour'd Friend, Dr Charleton, *on his learned and useful Works, and more particularly this of* STONE-HENG, *by him Restored to the true Founders.*

THe longest Tyranny that ever sway'd,
Was that wherein our Ancestors betray'd
Their free-born *Reason* to the *Stagirite*,
And made his Torch their universal Light.
So *Truth*, while onely one suppli'd the State,
Grew scarce, and dear, and yet sophisticate.
Until 'twas bought, like Emp'rique Wares, or Charms,
Hard words seal'd up with *Aristotle*'s Armes.
Columbus was the first that shook his Throne;
And found a *Temp'rate* in a *Torrid* Zone:
The fevrish aire fann'd by a cooling breez,
The fruitful Vales set round with shady Trees;
And guiltless *Men*, who danc'd away their time,
Fresh as their *Groves*, and *Happy* as their *Clime*.
Had we still paid that homage to a *Name*,
Which onely *God* and *Nature* justly claim;
The *Western* Seas had been our utmost bound,
Where *Poets* still might dream the *Sun* was drown'd:
And all the *Starrs*, that shine in *Southern* Skies,
Had been admir'd by none but *Salvage* Eyes.

Among th' *Assertors* of free Reason's claim,
Th' *English* are not the least in Worth, or Fame.
The World to *Bacon* does not onely owe
Its *present* Knowledge, but its *future* too.
Gilbert shall live, till *Load-stones* cease to draw,
Or *British* Fleets the boundless Ocean awe.
And noble *Boyle*, not less in *Nature* seen,
Than his great *Brother* read in *States* and *Men*.

The

The *Circling* ſtreams, once thought but pools of blood
(Whether Life's fewel, or the Bodie's food)
From dark Oblivion *Harvey*'s name ſhall ſave;
While *Ent* keeps all the honour that he gave.
Nor are *You*, Learned Friend, the leaſt renown'd;
Whoſe Fame, not circumſcrib'd with *Engliſh* ground,
Flies like the nimble journeys of the Light;
And is, like that, unſpent too in its flight.
What ever *Truths* have been, by *Art*, or *Chance*,
Redeem'd from *Error*, or from *Ignorance*,
Thin in their *Authors*, (like rich veins of Ore)
Your Works unite, and ſtill diſcover more.
Such is the healing virtue of Your Pen,
To perfect Cures on *Books*, as well as *Men*.
Nor is This Work the leaſt: You well may give
To *Men* new vigour, who make *Stones* to live.
Through You, the *DANES* (their ſhort Dominion loſt)
A longer Conqueſt than the *Saxons* boaſt.
STONE-HENG, once thought a *Temple*, You have found
A *Throne*, where Kings, our Earthly Gods, were Crown'd.
Where by their wondring Subjects They were ſeen,
Joy'd with their Stature, and their Princely meen.
Our *Soveraign* here above the reſt might ſtand;
And here be choſe again to rule the Land.

Theſe Ruines ſhelter'd once *His* Sacred Head,
Then when from *wor'ſters* fatal Field *He* fled;
Watch'd by the Genius of this Royal place,
And mighty Viſions of the Daniſh Race.
His *Refuge* then was for a *Temple* ſhown:
But, *He* Reſtor'd, 'tis now become a *Throne*.

John Dryden.

STONE-HENG RESTORED TO THE DANES.

OF all MONUMENTS built by Mankind ſince the beginning of the World, there ſeem to be only two General *Cauſes*.

The FIRST *Natural*, namely a certain deſire of Immortality, inherent in, and as it were Eſſential to the Human Soul. Which being an Immaterial Eſſence, participant of Divinity both in its Creation, and Hopes, perpetually carrieth about it this impreſs or character of that Eternal Being, from whence it was derived; that it abhorreth Oblivion, and as not contented with that perpetuity in poſterity, which Nature hath ordained by propagation of the Species, (an inſtitution common alſo to Brute Animals) it aims at another kind of Eternity, by ſeeking to deliver the Remembrance of ſome notable actions to all ſucceeding Generations. So ſtrong are the incitements of this our congenial Ambition, that the Dulleſt Souls are not altogether inſenſible of them, and Heroique ones feel a ſort of felicity in ſuffering themſelves to be tranſported by them: Yea, many have preferr'd the Imaginary life of Glory, to that Real one of Nature; and through moſt

horrid dangers and pains expoſed themſelves to death, meerly out of an obſcure hope of being ſoon revived by Fame, and obtaining a better ſubſiſtence in the immortality of their Names. With ſuch ſentiments as theſe Old *Ennius* doubtleſs was touch't, when he rejoyced in the perpetuity of reputation, that he fancied to himſelf from the merits of his Verſes, and exultingly exclames

——Volito vivu' per ora virum.

And *Ovid*, when he towres himſelf with

Ore legar populi, perque omnia ſecula famâ,
Si quid habent veri vatum præſagia, vivam.

Nay, the grave *Roman Orator* himſelf was not exempted from the ſecret titillations of the ſame proleptical perſwaſion, when (*Pro Marc.*) he brake forth into this pathetic expreſſion: *Non hæc vita dicenda eſt, quæ corpore & ſpiritu continetur; illa, inquam, illa vita eſt, quæ viget memoria ſæculorum omnium, quam poſteritas alit, quam ipſa æternitas ſemper intuetur.* "This is not to be accounted life, "which conſiſteth in the conjunction of Body and Soul: that, I ſay, "that is life indeed, which flouriſheth in the memory of all ages, "which Poſterity nouriſheth, which Eternity it ſelf ever looketh up-"on. And into another of the like height (*Philip.* 12.) in theſe words: *Brevis vita data eſt, memoria bene reddita vita ſempiterna; quæ ſi non eſſet longior, quàm hæc vita, quis eſſet tam amens, qui maximis laboribus & periculis ad ſummam laudem, gloriamque contenderet?* Now, albeit this Affection of the Mind, in ſome perſons meeting with the humor of Vain Glory, becomes an *ignis fatuus*, and miſguides them to a falſe Eternity (for, the laſt cold we catch in our graves, makes us deaf to even the loudeſt praiſes of men: and if it did not, yet would the pleaſure of thoſe praiſes be as ſhort and tranſitory, as the breath that gives them being:) yet cannot it be eaſily denied to be a conſiderable argument of the Souls *Immortality*; foraſmuch as the moſt rigid of Philoſophers find it to be Natural (*Ariſtotle* 2. *de Anima*, terms it Φυσικώτατον, moſt Natural) and confeſs, that Nature hath implanted in us no Appetite in vain, or which is not capable of ſatisfaction, if rightly addreſſed to its proper objects. However, thus much may modeſtly be affirmed, that there is

no

no man but thinks himſelf ſomewhat concerned in times that ſhall come after him; and that the moſt excellent works of men had their firſt beginnings from this Appetite of poſthume Fame. For, whence came the foundations of Empires, the inſtitutions of Republiques, Sects, Societies, and Laws to govern them? Whence the building of Cities, the erection of Pyramids, Mauſoleas, Obelisks, Temples, Amphitheatres, Statues, Palaces, and the like coſtly Monuments? Whence, thoſe many Volumes of Hiſtory, Annals, Philoſophy, Arts and Sciences, and all other kind of Knowledge? Whence all the brave performances and atchievements in Warr? Whence the liberality of Teſtaments, the adoption of Heirs, the affiancing of great Families, the deſire of Iſſue? Whence, I ſay, can we derive all theſe, and in truth all other the principal deſigns and actions of Mankind, if not from that which *Cicero* (1. *Tuſcul*) calls *ſaeculorum quoddam augurium futurorum*, a certain implanted Ambition of men to extend the proſpect of their hopes beyond the dark vale of Death, and have their names ſurvive their Funerals? ſo that though ſome Sceptiques may perhaps diſpute, whether this Ambition be purely Natural, or meerly Opinionative: yet, I preſume, none will contradict this manifeſt truth, That all Nations are beholding to it for their chiefeſt Ornaments and Memorials; eſpecially if due conſideration be had of the neer affinity betwixt this their Firſt Cauſe, and

The OTHER, which is *Politique*; namely an incitement of men to hazardous undertakings, and enterprizes of difficulty, by ſetting before their eyes the glorious Examples of ſuch among their Predeceſſors, who by actions of eminent fortitude, prudence, juſtice, knowledge, piety to their Country, or other the like Virtues, have highly obliged mankind. For, ſince Glory and Renown is one of the ſharpeſt ſpurrs to Heroical ſpirits; and that glory is alwayes greateſt, that is moſt permanent: it was a high point of Wiſedome and Policie in our Forefathers to erect publick memorials of great and worthy men, ſuch as being lookt upon by their Succeſſors, might inſpire them with a generous Emulation to atchieve the like meritorious actions, that ſo they may attain to the like honour and eſteem, with thoſe that ſhall come after them. Virtue, though a ſufficient reward to it ſelf, would yet have but few followers, unleſs attended on by Fame. Whereupon *Cicero* (*in* 1. *Tuſculan.*) diſcourſing of gallant men, ſayes poſitively, *Eorum nemo unquam, ſine magna ſpe immorta-*

immortalitatis, ſe pro patria offerret ad mortem; no man, however magnanimous and brave, would for the good of his Country offer himſelf to death, without great hope of immortality; and *Euripides (in Ajace)* not indecently cries out

Φεῦ τὸ θανόντ' ὡς ταχέως τοῖς ἐσθλοῖς
χάρις διαρρεῖ, κ' προδοῦς ἀλίσκεται.

Among the moſt durable Memorials of worthy Men and Actions, by which generous ſpirits are animated to tread in the rough and craggy wayes of Virtue, upon expectation the Gratitude of poſterity will endeavour to vindicate their names and deſerts from the devouring jaws of Oblivion; the firſt place belongs to thoſe, which the Grecians call Κενοτάφια, the Romans *Monumenta*, and we in imitation of them *Monuments*: becauſe they ſerve to inſtruct the preſent and future ages, in things done in ages paſt; and remain to ſucceeding generations, as certain Memorials of the famous performances of their Anceſtors. The word *Monumentum* deriving it ſelf from *Moneo*; and that again holding from *Memoria*; as *Varro* (*de lingua Latin. lib.* 8.) *monere eſt a memoria dictum, quòd is, qui monet, perinde ſit ac memoria.* So that a Monument, in propriety of ſignification, is an *Admonition by putting in remembrance.* In which ſenſe *Cicero* ſpeaking to *Caſar*, ſaith, *ſed Ego, quæ monumenti ratio ſit, nomine ipſo admoneor, ad memoriam magis ſpectare debere poſteritatis, quam ad præſentis temporis gratiam.* And in a Manuſcript Regiſtre of the Gray Friers in London, kept in *Sir Robert Cottons* Library, there is this agreeable definition of a Monument; *Monimentum eſt quaſi monens mentem, & ſic ſolet a doctioribus Etymologiari: monet namque bifariàm humanam mentem, cum aut mortis memoriam incutit, viſis præcedentium ſepulchris; aut eiſdem conſpectis, alii ad virtutis iter ſtrenuè calcandum incitantur & animantur.*

Hence it comes, that notwithſtanding the things invented to give notice to poſterity of the laudable atchievements of their Progenitors, be almoſt infinitely *various* in their natures, materials, forms, &c. yet ſtill hath the word *Monument* been uſed, as a general name, to denote them: which *Feſtus* long ſince obſerved in this ſaying; *Monumentum eſt, quod mortui cauſa ædificatum eſt, & quicquid in memoriam alicujus factum eſt, ut fana, porticus, ſcripta, & carmina, &c.*

To enumerate the ſeveral Kinds, or Differences of theſe inanimate Remembrancers; and deduce each of thoſe differences from its proper Cauſes and occaſions, is neither neceſſary to, nor conſiſtent with my preſent deſign, which is confined within the circle of one ſingle monument. Let it ſuffice, therefore, if I in the general advertiſe, that their Variety is owing not onely to the diverſity of Peoples and Nations, that founded, erected, compoſed them of different Materials, after ſundry manners, and with various artifices, each according to their proper Genius, belief, Cuſtomes, Commodities, and the like: but alſo to the circumſtances of Time, Place, Fortune, and Occaſion. So that no wonder, if theſe (as all other the works of Man) are vaſtly different among themſelves, in Matter, Form, Magnitude, Artifice, Coſt, Magnificence, Situation, and Deſign.

Nor is it more a wonder, that this great *Difference* ſometimes turns to the *Confuſion* of ancient Monuments, and makes them no Monuments at all; by rendring their particular ſignifications ſo indiſtinct, that even the beſt Antiquaries (thoſe Maſters of the Rolls of time) fall into contention not onely concerning the *Authors* by whom, and the *Times* wherein; but alſo about the *Ends*, or Purpoſes for which they were at firſt ſet up. For, the Monuments of even one and the ſame Nation, in one and the ſame Country, having been now and then varied in faſhion, magnificence, &c. according to the ſeveral viciſſitudes of Time, mutations of Religion, and other revolutions of Fate: it cannot but be highly difficult for late poſterity, who are left in ignorance of the reſpective occaſions and motives of thoſe changes, to ſearch into the intentions of their Founders; eſpecially, where Hiſtory hath been either altogether ſilent, or (what's as bad) full of uncertainties concerning their Originals. And where the darkneſs of Oblivion hath been added to that of aged Time; certainly, our Curioſity can hardly find the way to truth, nor is the glimmering light of Reaſon likely to afford other diſcoveries, but what are Conjectural. So true it is, that *Monuments themſelves are ſubject to* Forgerfulneſs, *even while they remain: and that when neither the Writings of men living in the ſame age, or not long after their erection, nor uncorrupted Tradition hath concurred to give them life; they uſually ſtand rather as dead objects of popular wonder, and occaſions of Fables, than as certain records of Antiquity.*

Do

Do you require an Inſtance, or *Example* of the truth of what I here ſay? Pleaſe you to convert your eyes upon that moſt notable Antiquity, commonly called STONE--HENG, on *Salisbury* plain; you ſhall there find one moſt eminent, moſt fit for your purpoſe, moſt worthy your contemplation. For, though this Gigantique Remain be wonderfull as well in reſpect of the ſtrangeneſs of its Form, as of the vaſtneſs of the ſtones, of which it is compoſed; and therefore among all the Antiquities of this our Iſland, none ſeems better to have deſerved the commemoration of our ancient Writers: Yet ſuch hath been its Fate, that it hath out-lived it ſelf, and buried as well the Names, as Bones of thoſe Worthies to whoſe memory it was conſecrated; nor can you meet with any ſtory of credit to inform you when, or by whom it was erected. Having raiſed horror and aſtoniſhment in the Beholder; it leaves him to entertain himſelf with thoughts as various, as the plain it ſtands upon is wide, and as confuſed, as Ruine hath made it ſtones: the proſpect of it at a diſtance not more delighting the eye, than the neer ſurvey doth perplex the brain, or the date of it amuſe the underſtanding. What the vulgar idlely feign of the ſtones of it, namely that they are innumerable, not in reſpect of the greatneſs of their number, but of I know not what magical inchantment ſuppoſed impreſſed upon the whole pile, that deludes the attempts of Arithmetique; I find true of the Years of its continuance, its Beginning being as obſcure, as the Fable of *Merlins* tranſportation of it out of Ireland, by witchcraft, is abſurd and ridiculous; yea ſo far hath oblivion prevail'd, that now we are in doubt, not only what King, Prince, or General, but alſo what Nation it was, that bequeathed us this Wonder for a Legacy.

The conſideration of this, together with a certain deep reſentment of the misfortune of the Founders of this prodigious Fabrique, who in deſpite of its greatneſs and durability, ſeem utterly loſt and forgotten, as if they had been entombed in the bowels of the deepeſt Ocean, or in the ſandy deſerts of *Arabia*: as it hath often raiſed in me a kind of indignation againſt the enviouſneſs of Time, (which hardly endures that Creatures ſubject to mortality in their Nature, ſhould be above it in their memory, and, in deriſion of mans greateſt works, ſometimes brings the River *Lethe* to flow as well above ground, as below;) ſo did it enkindle in me an ardent deſire to contribute my mite toward the reſearching, who or what thoſe Worthies were, that entruſted their remembrance

remembrance to this forgetfull Heap. And in compliance with this desire, having from the necessary imployments of my profession borrowed some hours, for the reading of such Authors, as well ancient, as modern, who have either lightly mentioned, or professedly treated of this venerable piece of Antiquity, or others resembling it; and equitably examined the respective probability, or improbability of their different opinions touching its Origine, by comparing them with the agreeableness, or disagreeableness they hold to the parts and proprieties of the building it self, and with the concurrence of History, Time, Place and other circumstances: I at length believed, I was arrived, though not at perfect satisfaction, yet at reasonable grounds for a Conjecture, that most probably it was a Monument anciently erected by the *Danes*, at such time as that warlike Nation usurped the soveraignty of this our fertil Island. After this, being further animated by this meditation; that if it be, as doubtless it is, a kind of Inhumanity and Sacrilege, to despoil the dead of the glory due to them, by alienating the memorials they studiously left behind them, and transferring the honour of their works upon strangers, who have no better title thereunto, than what the mistake, or flattery of after ages gave them; on the contrary, it must be a sort of Piety to endeavour to restore the true owners to the possession of their Merits, by reviving the justice of their claim: I indulged my self the liberty to conceive, the Candid and Ingenious would take it in good part, if by publishing the Reasons that induced me to be of that Opinion, I modestly made them also judges of its probability; contenting my self only with the simplicity and innocence of my devoir, and submitting my collections to their wiser examination. And thus you have the *Occasion*, *Motives*, *Design*, and *Equity* of the following discourse. As for the *Method*, and *Style* of it; you will soon perceive the *One* to be somewhat confused, the *Other* altogether rude and unpolished: so that it cannot be denied, but I have in some sort observed a *decorum* with the Monument I speak of; the parts thereof being now in great disorder, and the stones alwayes unhewn, as they come from the Quarrie. But both being *Natural* and unaffected, I hope you will bear with their other defects; especially when you shall consider, that in Arguments of this nature, clearness of proofs, and authority of testimonies, and faithfulness of quotations are much to be preferred before exactness of Method, and Elegancy of Phrase.

You

You, perhaps, have not yet beheld this Monument, or at leaſt not taken a ſurvey of it in its ſtately ruines; and, therefore, it behoveth me to prepare you the better to judge of its Antiquity, and Deſign, by entertaining you in the firſt place with the

Deſcription of Stone-heng, by Mr. Camden.

"About ſix miles from *Salisbury*, northward (ſaith He) on *Salis-*
"*bury* Plain, is to be ſeen a huge and monſtrous piece of work, ſuch
"as *Cicero* termeth *inſanam ſubſtructionem*. For, within the circuit
"of a ditch, there are erected, in manner of a Crown, in three ranks
"or courſes, one within another, certain mighty and unwrought
"ſtones; whereof ſome are twenty eight foot high, and ſeven foot
"broad: upon the heads of which others, like overthwart pieces, do
"bear and reſt croſswiſe, with ſmall tenents and morteſcies, ſo as the
"whole frame ſeemeth to hang; whereof we call it STONE-
"HENG, like as our old Hiſtorians termed it, for the greatneſs,
"*Chorea Gigantum*, the Giants Dance.

Then, to illuſtrate his deſcription, He ſubjoyns this Draught, or *Figure*.

Where

Place this Piece in Folio 8.

Where *A.* denoteth the Perpendicular ſtones, called Corſe-ſtones, weighing twelve Tunn, carrying in hight twenty four Foot, in breadth ſeven Foot, and in compaſs ſixteen: and

B. the Overthwart ſtones, called Cronets, of ſix or ſeven Tunn weight.

Here in all likelihood, You will a little wonder, both by what way *Mr. Camden* could attain to the weight of theſe ſo ponderous maſſes, ſo as to be poſitive in the aſſignment of it: and why, having firſt made the altitude of the Erected ſtones, or Columns to be twenty eight foot, he immediately, in the explication of his pourtraict, brings it down to onely twenty four foot. Nor, indeed, can I eaſe you of that wonder; otherwiſe than by referring the former to his meer Conjecture, and the other to his Forgetfulneſs. But this tranſitory remarque is of as ſmall importance to our main ſcrutiny; as His deſcription comes ſhort of that ſatisfaction, which is required to an exact ſurvey of all parts of the wonder. Let us paſs, therefore, if your curioſity and leiſure permit, to the more ample

Deſcription of Stone-heng, by Mr. Inigo Jones.

Who being, and not unworthily, called by *Mr. Web* (in his preface to *Mr. Jones* his Book, entituled *Stone-heng Reſtored*) the *Engliſh Vitruvius*; and having, as Himſelf profeſſeth, in the 56. *page* of the ſame Book, with no little pains, and charge, meaſured the whole work, and diligently ſearched the Foundations of it: ſeems to promiſe us a more full account in all particulars.

"This Antiquity (ſaith He) becauſe the *Architraves* are ſet upon "the heads of the upright ſtones, and hang as it were in the air, is "generally known by the name of *Stoneyheng*. The whole work, "in general, being of a Circular form, is 110. foot diameter; double "winged about, without a roof; anciently environed with a deep "trench, ſtill appearing about thirty foot broad. So that betwixt it, "and the work it ſelf, a large and void ſpace of ground being left; "it had from the Plain three open Entrances, the moſt conſpicuous "whereof lies North-eaſt. At each of which was raiſed, on the out-"ſide of the Trench aforeſaid, two huge ſtones, Gate-wiſe; parallel

"whereunto, on the inside, two others of leſs proportions. The Inner "part of the work, conſiſting of an Exigonal figure, was raiſed, by "due ſymmetry, upon the baſes of four Equilateral Triangles, which "formed the whole Structure. This Inner part likewiſe was double, "having within it alſo another Exagon raiſed; and all that part with-"in the Trench, ſited upon a commanding ground, eminent, and "higher by much than any of the Plain lying without, and in the mid-"deſt thereof upon a foundation of hard Chalk, the work it ſelf was "placed. Inſomuch, that from what part ſoever they came unto it, "they roſe by an aſcending hill.

"In the inmoſt part is a Stone appearing not much above the ſur-"face of the Earth, and lying towards the Eaſt, four foot broad, and "ſixteen in length. Which, whether an Altar, or no, I leave to the "judgment of others.

"The Great ſtones, which made the Entrances from the outſide "of the Trench, are ſeven foot broad, three thick, and twenty "high.

"Their Parallels, on the inſide of the Trench, are four foot broad, "and three thick; but ſo broken, their proportions in light cannot "be exactly meaſured.

"The ſtones, which make the Outward Circle, carry in breadth "ſeven foot, in thickneſs 3 and $\frac{1}{2}$, and in hight 15 and $\frac{1}{2}$: each "ſtone having two Tenons mortaiſed into the Architrave continuing "upon them, throughout the whole circumference. For, theſe Archi-"traves being joynted directly in the middle of each of the Perpendi-"cular ſtones, that their weight might have an equal bearing; and up-"on each ſide of the joynt a Tenon wrought (as remains yet to be "ſeen): it may poſitively be concluded thereby, the Architrave con-"tinued round about this Outward Circle.

"The ſmaller ſtones of the Inner Circle are two foot and $\frac{1}{2}$ in "breadth, 1. thick, and 6. high. Theſe had no Architrave upon them, "but were raiſed perpendicular, of a Pyramidal form.

"The Stones of the Greater Hexagon, 7. foot and $\frac{1}{2}$ in breadth,

"three

" three foot nine inches in thickneſs, and twenty foot in hight ; each " having one Tenon in the middle.

" The ſtones of the Inner Hexagon, 2. foot 6. inches broad, 1. foot " and ½ thick, and eight foot high ; in form Pyramidal, like thoſe " of the Inner Circle.

" The Architrave lying round about upon the Perpendicular ſtones " of the Outward Circle, is three foot and ½ broad, two foot and ½ " high or thick.

" The Architrave on the top of the great ſtones of the Outward " Hexagon, 16. foot long, 3. foot 9. inches broad, 3. foot 4 inches " high. This Architrave continuing onely from ſtone to ſtone, left " betwixt every two and two, a void ſpace, free to the air, unco- " vered.

" After this Survey (and ſome other Deſigns, that he fancied cor- " reſpondent thereunto) He obligeth his Readers with the whole " work in Proſpective, as it now lies in its ruines, repreſenting it ſelf " to the eye thus.

The Figure.

In which *P.* repreſents the manner of the Tenons, of a round form, mortaiſed into the Architrave of the Outward Circle : and

Q. the Tenons of the like form, in the middle of the ſtones of the Greater Hexagon.

Reflecting upon theſe two Deſcriptions, and comparing them together with due care : You'l find them at open variance, and differing in ſo many, and ſo conſiderable particulars, that 'twill be a hard taſk for you to keep them from mutually diſcrediting each other. For

(1.) *Mr. Camden* expreſly affirm's, He obſerved the Ranks, or Courſes, in which all the Stones were erected, to be only *Three*, one within another ; and *Mr. Jones* as confidently avouches, He found them to be *Four*.

(2.) The *Former* ſaith all thoſe three Courſes are *Circular*: the *Later* ſaith, of his Four, two only are Circular, the other two *Hexagonal*.

(3.) *This* gives you a punctual account of *Three open Entrances*, marked with two huge ſtones perpendicularly raiſed on the outſide of the Trench, and other two of leſſer dimenſions in like manner ſited on the inſide, in poſition parallel: *That* is utterly ſilent concerning any ſuch matter; yea implicitly denies it, in that hee delivered, that all the ſtones obſerved the circumferences of their proper Circles.

(4.) In like manner, the *One* ſtumbles upon an *Altar-ſtone* (for ſuch He conceived, and ſuch He would have us believe it to be, notwithſtanding his ſeeming to leave men to the liberty of their own judgment in that point:) over which the *Other* leaped cleerly, without ſo much as ever touching it.

(5.) *Mr. Camden* aſſignes to the Perpendicular ſtones of the largeſt ſize, twenty four foot of Altitude: but *Mr. Jones* will not allow them to exceed twenty foot.

Behold, here, a notable Example of the *diſcrepancy of Mens judgements, even in things eaſily determinable by the ſenſe! and how hard it is to diſcern truth with others eyes!* What, then, ſhall we conclude on in the caſe? Upon whoſe relation may we, with greateſt ſecurity to our belief, depend? If we compare the *Reputations* of theſe two Authors; we find them equally high and venerable: the One being worthily eſteemed one of the principal *Antiquaries*, and moſt Learned men of his time; the Other as worthily reckoned among the moſt excellent *Architects* this Nation ever bred, and a general Scholar. If we ballance their ſeveral *Abilities* reſpective to the matter in hand; no great advantage of weight appears on either ſide: for if *Mr. Jones* were more converſant in *Vitruvius*, and more exact in the Rules of *Geometry*; *Mr. Camden* was not ignorant of the Art of Deſigning taught by the one, nor unacquainted with the uſe of the *Other*, as is evident from many paſſages in his immortal Writings. However, He was certainly skilfull enough in the common wayes of meaſuring and ſurveying, not to be miſtaken in the dimenſions and platform of Stoneheng. If we compute the *Times*, in which they ſeverally took their draughts of this Wonder; the difference will be ſo ſmall, as not to

ſolve

ſolve the variouſneſs of them : for, they were Contemporaries, and not above forty years, at moſt, ſeem to have intervened betwixt the Writing of one and the other, concerning this Argument. A ſmall ſpace of time to wear off four foot of hardeſt ſtone from the heads of the Perpendiculars or Columns ; eſpecially conſidering not ſo much as an inch is diminiſhed from their ſides. And much too ſhort a time, for ſo many new ſtones to grow up in, as *Mr. Jones* diſcovered more than the other perceived. Laſtly, as for their *Veracity* ; that's a thing ſacred, admitting of neither diſpute, nor compariſon ; and 'twere breach of Charity not to be confident of this ; that both of them had ſo great devotion and reverence toward the majeſty of Truth, as neither would dare to offend her, by willingly deluding the preſent and future ages, with counterfeit Certificates, or by adding or diminiſhing, where they pretend to exactneſs and fidelity. And yet notwithſtanding, ſuch is their misfortune, and our trouble, we cannot give credit to both at once: that one hath miſtaken, is manifeſt ; that both were miſtaken, and about the ſame particulars, is improbable ; to determine on which ſide the Error lies, is difficult, but by a new ſurvey ; and to reconcile them in all points, ſeems impoſſible. Wherefore, though the clue of my ſlender Obſervations upon the place, be not ſtrong enough to conduct you out of this Labyrinth : yet, I hope, my zeal to truth may excuſe my plainneſs and freedome, if I adventure to aſſure you, that having more than once or twice delighted my ſelf with viewing this admirable Antiquity, and with all poſſible attentiveneſs of mind contemplated the form, order, and parts of it ; I alwaies obſerved *Mr. Camdens* Draught to come much neerer in reſemblance both to the work it ſelf, and to the idea thereof formed in my Imagination out of its ruines, than that bequeathed to the world by *Mr. Jones*, though much more elaborate and artificial. Nevertheleſſe, the Model I have conceived of the whole Fabrique in General, being not caſt in the mould of Architectonical Principles, nor adjuſted by the maxims of Geometry ; but rude and ſimple, ſuch as my Eyes delivered in to my brain : I think it not worth the labour of Copying ; but leave every man to the liberty of fancying as he pleaſeth, when he hath ſufficiently gazed upon the Original. In the mean time, let us proceed to our Capital Enquiry, *Who were the Authors of this ſtupendious Building*, that doth ſo amaze and amuſe its beholders.

What *Scaliger* wittily and truly ſaid, in one of his *Exercitations*, concerning the nature of *Colours* ; viz. *that objects moſt cleer and manifeſt*

viſeſt to the Senſe, are often moſt full of difficulty and obſcurity when brought home to the Underſtanding: holds true alſo of this Monument, which is not more conſpicuous to the Eye, for its greatneſs and eminency, than dark to the Mind, in reſpect of its original and foundation, of which no certain remains are to be found. So that we are not more beholding to Time, for ſuffering the *Sceleton* or Bones of this Giant to ſtand ſo long; than injured by it, in that it ſo ſoon extinguiſht the *life*, or *ſtory* of it.

For, firſt, our moſt ancient, and moſt authentique Hiſtorians, who committed to record the moſt memorable actions and traverſes of Fortune among the Britains; and who may with good reaſon be allowed to have been not much above one age younger than Stoneheng it ſelf: have paſſed it over in ſilence, as a thing, either of whoſe Being they were utterly ignorant, or of whoſe Beginning they were utterly uncertain. So that from their Writings, nothing can be deduced toward our information.

And then, as for ſuch others of our Country-men, as well *Hiſtoriographers*, as *Antiquaries*, who living at leſs or greater diſtance of time after the former, have treated expreſly of it; they deliver reports ſo various and inconſiſtent among themſelves, and ſeverally ſo embroyled with improbabilities and incongruities; that they appear to have taken up their reſpective opinions either from obſolete and darkſome traditions, or from ſlender and queſtionable authorities, or at beſt from plauſible conjectures. So that from theſe Authors likewiſe, little is to be borrowed toward our determination. However, it being my duty to preſume, you are not unwilling to hear theſe Opinions, what and whoſe they are; I ſhall not decline the labour of collecting and reciting them ſincerely and faithfully: eſpecially for as much as *many things are well worthy our Knowledge, that cannot yet deſerve our Belief; and even Fictions ſometimes have accidentally given light to long obſcured verities.*

The *Eldeſt* and moſt vulgarly received Opinion, then, concerning the firſt Foundation of Stone-heng, is, *that it was erected by that ſo much renowned Britiſh-roman* (for, a Roman He was, *materna ex parte*, by the Mothers ſide) Aurelius Ambroſius, *in memory of thoſe four hundred and ſixty Noble Britains, in peaceable manner invited to a treaty of accommodation, to be held in or near the Town of Ambresbu-*

ry,

ry, by that bloody invader and leader of the Saxons, Hengist; *and upon a watch-word given, moſt treacherouſly murdered by him and his equally inhuman confederates, upon the place in which they were aſſembled.* And the principal, if not the firſt Author of this report, was *Geffery Monmouth (in lib. 6. Hiſtor. Britannic.)* to whom I remit you for a more full narration of the manner how this perfidious Maſſacre was deſigned and executed, and how the Monument of Stone-heng was ſet up, as a perpetual Memorial of thoſe many Worthies, who there ſuffered a Civil Martyrdome, being ſacrificed in honour of their Country.

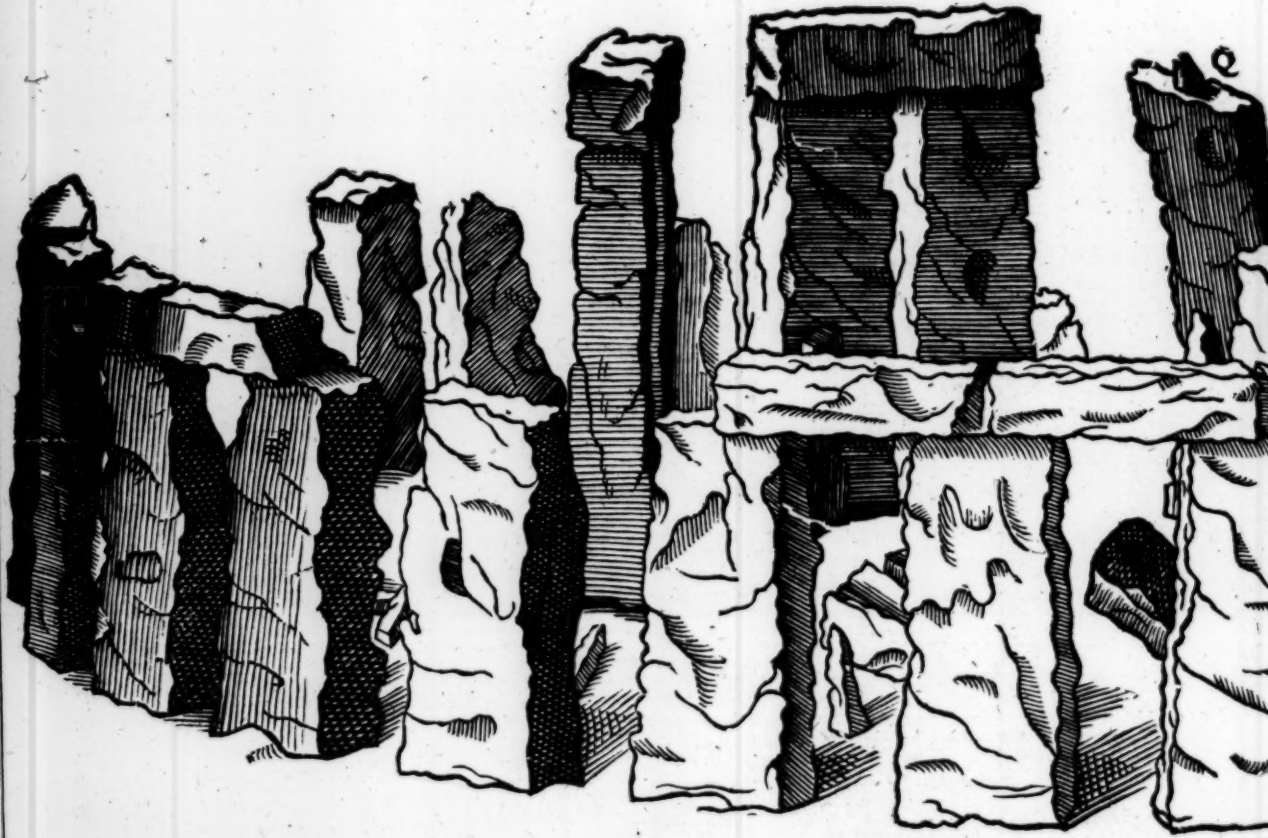
The *Next* (neer of Kin to the firſt, as to Time; though *e diametro* contrary, in all other reſpects) is, *That the ſame* Aurelius Ambroſius *being deceaſed, his ſorrowfull ſubjects, the Britans, to teſtifie to ſucceeding Ages how high an honour they had for the reliques of Him, under whoſe valiant and prudent conduct, and by whoſe courage-inſpiring Example, they had ſo often repulſed and defeated their ſavage Enemies, raiſed this Magnificent ſtructure over the place of his ſepulture, as a moſt durable witneſs of his Heroical Virtues, and their own grateful piety.* And this conceit ſeems derived chiefly from *Polydor Virgil*, who (*in lib* 3.) relating the paſſages of warr, betwixt the Britans and Saxons of thoſe times, expreſly affirms it as a memorable truth, in words of this ſenſe. "In memory of his atchievements for "the liberty and good of his Country, the Britans ſet up a magnifi- "cent Sepulchre for their General, *Ambroſius*, made of great ſquare "ſtones, in form of a Crown (*obſerve here, how exactly* Polydor's *deſ- "cription of the general Aſpect of Stone-heng agrees with that of Mr.* "Camden *formerly mentioned*) in that very place, where He was ſlain "in fight; that the fortitude of ſo noble a Chieftain, might be neither "forgotten among themſelves, nor left unremembred to poſterity. "Which Monument is yet remaining in the Dioceſs of Salisbury, near "to the Town called Amesbury.

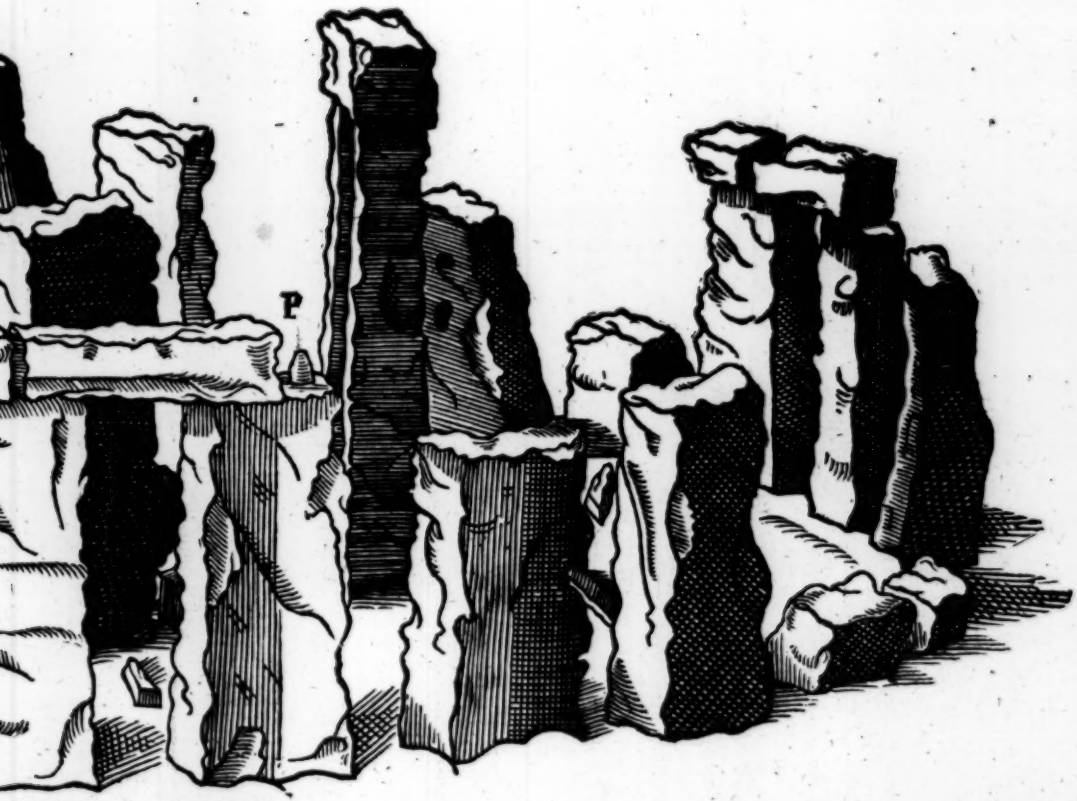
A *Third* Conjecture we meet with, which though of much younger date, doth yet pretend to be grounded upon an Accident of Warre ſo ancient, that we have ſcarcely any records of the actions betwixt the Britans and Romans in this Iſland, of certainty above it; and it is, that *Stone-heng was built by the old Britains as a Sepulchral Monument for their Magnanimous, but unfortunate Queen,* Bunduca *or* Boadicia, *Dowager of* Praſutagus, *King of the* Iceni; *who with all her*

principal

principal Nobility, and a numerous Army, was fatally overthrown in battel by that handfull of Romans, *under the command of* Suetonius Paulinus, *then Lieutenant in* Britanny. The Father of this more partial, than probable fancy, was the Tranſlator of *Lucius Florus* (one *Mr. Bolton*, as I have been told by ſeveral Stationers) and Author of that ingenious Book, entituled *Nero Cæſar*, publiſhed no longer agoe, than in the year 1624. who out of a certain exceſs of devotion to the Fame of that Britiſh Amazon (as each Hiſtorian muſt have his particular Hero, or Heroine, whoſe virtues he delights to magnifie above all others) willing to heighten her glories by all means poſſible; and taking advantage of theſe words of *Dion Caſſius* concerning her funeral rites, *Britanni humaverunt Eam magnifice*, the Britans inhumed her with ſolemn and magnificent pomp: rather than ſuffer her to want a Toomb proportionate to the grandure of her birth, ſoveraignty, and ſpirit, would needs be ſo courtly, as to beſtow that huge pile of ſtones upon her, to which the laws of Hiſtory gave her no right at all. But let us hear with what fervor of Zeal, and freedom of vote, He conferreth this favour upon the Lady. "The Story of *Bunduca*, ſaith He, [*Nero* "*Cæſar p.*182,& 183.] than which neither our own noble Country, "nor the whole globe of *Earth*, hath a rarer, was ſo little underſtood "by *Monmouth*, as it doth not appear at all, that ever the bare ſound "thereof arrived within his hearing. But had the pretious volumes of "the *Cornelian Annals*, and *Dio Caſſius*, and *John Xiphiline* (where "her Heroick deeds are upon record to all poſterity) been within the "ſphear of his ſtudies; not *Aurelius Ambroſius*, nor thoſe four hun-"dred and threeſcore noblemen of Britain murdered in *Vortigers* "Reign, ſhould perhaps have carried away with him the fame of this "Material wonder, but Her Magnanimous ſelf. Higher than to Her "no Books do reach, with any probability of a Perſon more capable of "ſuch a Teſtimony, than ſhe; and the profound oblivion which co-"vers the Author, and the firſt intention of rearing them, where now "they ſtill defie the weather, doth ſtrongly fortifie my ſuſpition, that "the ſtones were conſecrated to the glory of *Bunduca*, and of her "Captains ſlain in her Quarrel, ſo long time ſince as *Nero Cæſars* "dayes, much above fifteen hundred years, &c.

Here, after the recital of theſe Three ſo different Suppoſitions, I ſhould immediately have proceeded to the *Examination* of them in order: but *Mr. Inigo Jones* having, not many years paſt, with ſingular judgement, and great pains, fully detected the particular weakneſſes of each,

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each, and improbabilities of all; and my Genius being alwayes averse to the dull and unprofitable drudgery of transcription; I think it sufficient, if I refer You to His elaborate discourse upon the same abstruse Argument, while I apply my self to the serious consideration of a *Fourth* opinion, to which His fruitfull Imagination seems to have given birth, and His ample skill in Architecture, credit.

Mr. Jones *his Opinion, then, of the Founders, Antiquity and Design of Stone-heng, is*

That it was a work of the ROMANS, *built by them, when they flourished here in greatest peace and prosperity, and happily betwixt the times of* Agricola's *government, and the reign of* Constantine *the Great, about* 1560 *years agoe; not as a Sepulchral Monument, but as a Temple, and particularly consecrated to the imaginary Deity of* Coelus, *or* Coelum, *from whence their superstitious belief derived the original of all things.*

The *Grounds* whereon He advanced, and *Reasons* with which He endeavoured to support this so new and strange surmise; being brought into order, and few words, are these that follow.

First, that the *Romans* were, and no other Nation could be Founders of *Stone-heng*, He argueth from (1.) the *Magnificence*; (2.) the *Order*; (3.) the *Architectonical Scheme*; (4.) the double *Portico* in the greater *Circle* of Stones, and another *Portico* in the *Cell*, or *Hexagon*; (5.) the *Manner* and *Position* of the Columns of the Building; and (6) from the Roman *Reliques* frequently found neer the place.

Secondly, that it was a *Temple*, He would infer from (1.) the *Intervall*, or spacious Court round about; (2.) the *Cell*, and its *Porticoes*; (3.) the *Altar*, and its position Eastward; (4.) the *Mixt*, or Compound *Order*; (5.) the *Aspect* of the whole Fabrique; and (6.) from the *Skuls of Beasts* digged up in the circumjacent ground.

Thirdly, that this so plausibly imagined Temple was consecrated in particular to the God, *Coelus*; He concludeth from (1.) the *Situation*; (2.) the *Aspect Hypæthros*; (3.) the *Manner*, or *Form*; (4.) the *Order*; (5.) the *Decorum* of the structure; (6.) the *Pyramidal*

Figure of the ſtones ; and *(7.)* from the *Kinds* of Beaſts cuſtomarily offered in ſacrifice to that Deity. And this is the Summary of all thoſe particulars, from whoſe concurrent hints He ſeems to have deduced his Invention.

An Invention exceedingly fine and ſubtle, I confeſs ; ſavouring of a pregnant Wit, and no ſmall Learning, eſpecially in the myſteries of ancient Architecture in uſe among the *Romans* ; and therefore much applauded by ſome of more than vulgar judgment : yet not ſo firmly founded, as to be impregnable ; nor ſo cloſely compacted in all its parts, as to keep out all weather of Contradiction. Wherefore though it be far from my deſign to batter and demoliſh it (for, in truth, it deſerves to ſtand, though meerly for the pleaſantneſs :) yet my devotion to truth, and the intereſt of my preſent diſquiſition concur to excuſe my boldneſs, if having brought you to it, I adventure to ſhew you the ſeveral Flaws, chinks, and defects diſcoverable therein ; leaving it at laſt to your own judgment, whether it be ſtrong enough to ſecure any mans belief, that ſhall ſet up his reſt in it.

Let us, therefore, begin at the Firſt Partition, *viz. That Stone-heng was a peice of Roman Architecture* ; and carefully view the ſtrength of thoſe Reaſons alleged to prove it ſo to be.

(Firſt,) As for the *Magnificence* thereof ; what *Ariſtotle* (4. *Eth. cap.* 2.) terms μεγαλοπρέπειαν, the Latines *Magnificentia & Majeſtas*, doth not conſiſt alone in the Magnitude or Maſſineſs of either the Materials of a Building, or the whole Pile (for, then thoſe huge ſtones lying one upon another, call'd *Wringchees*, in *Cornwall*, would be a magnificent ſtructure) : but in an artificial Decorum, or agreeable pulchritude conjoyned with greatneſs of bulk. Which two Qualities meeting together in any Fabrique, cauſe it to preſent it ſelf to the eye with a certain twofold graceſulneſs or majeſty, that inſtantly raiſeth a kind of Reſpect, and where it is rare and excellent, a kind of delightfull Wonder alſo in the beholders. So that we uſe not to call Great things, Majeſtical, in reſpect of their large dimenſions alone : nor Little things, Magnificent, notwithſtanding their Elegancy. And this I conceive to be the adæquate notion of *Magnificence* among all Architects. Now, according to this notion, though the ſtones of *Stone-heng* be, indeed, extraordinarily big and ponderous ; yet forasmuch as they are rude, rough, craggy, and difform among themſelves,

and

and deſtitute of any great Art or Elegancy in their general diſpoſition and conſtruction; I perceive my ſelf under no conſtraint or neceſſity of apprehending it as a Magnificent building, at leaſt in ſo high a degree, as *Mr. Jones* would have us believe, when He affirms, *that betwixt* Rome *and our Iſland, there is no Monument, in which the Roman Magnificence is more conſpicuous, than in this.* If by Magnificence He meant *Magnum apparatum*, the difficulty of the Means, ſtrength of Engines, multitude of hands, length of time, &c. neceſſarily made uſe of in bringing together, and raiſing ſo many and ſo large ſtones; then doth his Inference fall to the ground: there being many antique Monuments yet remaining, ſome in *England*, others in *Scotland*, others again in *Denmark* and *Norway*; which conſiſting of the like materials, and thoſe perhaps further fetcht too, could not but require like ſtrength, labour, and art to their erection, and yet the *Romans* had no hand in ſetting up either of them; as ſhall be made appear, when the thread of my diſcourſe hath brought me to mention them more opportunely. Furthermore, what judicious Eye, that hath once beheld the remains of *Diocletian's* Baths, *Nero's* Palace, *Marcellus* his Theatre, *Veſpaſians* Temple of Peace, the great *Cirque*, or other the monſtrous buildings of the *Romans* in *Italy*; can afterward fancy any ſuch thing as Roman Magnificence in this formleſs Uniform Heap of maſſy ſtones at *Stone-heng*? there being as little of proportion or reſemblance betwixt this and thoſe, as betwixt *St. Pancrace* Church, and *St. Pauls*; or as betwixt a Welſh mountaineers cottage, and the Royal Palace of *Hampton Court*. Nor am I alone of this judgment; for the *Author* of the life of *Nero Caſar*, formerly cited, apprehended ſo little of Magnificence in the thing, that from the very *Rudeneſs* thereof He concludes it (though erroneouſly) to have been a work of the *Britains*.

(Secondly,) As for the *Order*, which *Mr. Jones* affirms to be the *Tuſcan*; that you may the more cleerly diſcern, whether any ſuch thing was obſerved by the Builders of *Stone-heng*, in that work, or not, it is needfull for me to put you in mind at leaſt, What that Tuſcan Order is, what Conditions it hath that are Common to the other orders alſo, and what diſtinct Proprieties. The Ancient Roman Architects generally divided their ſtructures *in parietes continuos, & intermiſſos*, into *Intire* or *Continued* walls, and *Intermiſſions* made by Columns or Pillars. Of theſe *Columns* they had, partly from the *Grecians*, partly of their own invention, Five different Kinds, or ſorts; which reckoned

according to their reſpective dignity and perfection, are the *Tuſcan*, *Doric*, *Ionic*, *Corinthian*, and *Compound*, or (as it is commonly named) *Italic*. The *Tuſcan* (which alone relates to our preſent buſineſs) *eſt plana, maſſiva, ſeu ruſtica columna, ſimilis robuſto alicui & bene artuato ruricolæ, viliter amicto*, is a plain, maſſive, or ruſtical Column, carrying ſome reſemblance to a ſtrong and well-limbed Country-man, meanly clad; as *Vitruvius* (*lib.* 4. *cap.* 1.) not unfitly deſcribes it. The *Conditions* common to this Pillar with the reſt, are principally *Three*, according to *Sr. H. Wottons* enumeration of them, *in prima parte Elementorum Architecturæ*, for the Excellency thereof tranſlated into Latin by *John de Laet*. *Firſt*, the Pillars of all the Orders are *Rotundæ figuræ*, of a Round figure. For, though ſome conceive the Column *Atticurges*, of which *Vitruvius* ſpeaks (*lib.* 3. *cap.* 3.) was Square; yet was it lookt upon as irregular, and never admitted into the orders, but among other extravagant inventions, condemned by Him. *Secondly, Omnes diminuuntur & contrahuntur inſenſibiliter, plus aut minus, ſecundum proportionem ſuæ altitudinis ab tertia parte ſcapi ſui ſurſum*, All are Contracted or leſſened inſenſibly, more or leſs, according to the proportion of their altitude, from the third part of their Scape, or lower part, upward. Which *Guilielm. Philander*, (one of the beſt Interpreters of *Vitruvius*,) from the exact dimenſions of ſundry antique Remains ſurvey'd by himſelf, preſcribes *tanquam venuſtiſſimam diminutionem*, as the moſt comely and graceſull diminution; and moſt reſembling the Taper growth of Pine-trees, from whoſe pattern the Figure of all Columns was firſt taken. *Thirdly, Omnes ſuos habent Stylobatas, altitudine tertiæ partis totius Columnæ, comprehenſa baſi & capitulo*; All have their *Pedeſtals*, of the hight of the the third part of the whole Column, from the baſe to the head. The *Proprieties* of the *Tuſcan* order (to omit others of leſſe importance) conſiſt principally in two things, *viz.* the Proportion of the Longitude of the Pillar it ſelf, and the *Intercolumnium*, or diſtance betwixt Pillar and Pillar. The *Hight*, or Length of the Pillar ought to be *Sex diametrorum craſſiſſimæ partis inferioris ipſius ſcapi*, ſix Diameters of its thickneſs in the biggeſt part a little above the bottome. For *Vitruvius* (*lib.* 3. *cap.* 1.) accounts the length of a Mans foot to be the ſixt part of his whole body, in ordinary dimenſion: and Man, according to *Protagoras*, is τὸ τῶν ἀπόντων χρημάτων μέτρον; *of all exact Symmetry the Prototype, or firſt Exemplar*. And the *Intercolumnium*, or Intervall betwixt the Pillars, is required to be *circiter quatuor illius diametrorum*, of about four Diameters.

Now

Now, these Qualifications of the *Tuscan* order being thus set down on one side of the parallel: let us turn our Eyes upon *Stone-heng* and see what Analogy is to be found therein, to make up the other. (1.) At *Stone-heng*, very few, or none at all of the Upright stones, or Columns are *Round*, no nor in any degree related to that figure; but broad and flat, and mostly resembling Parallelipipeds, rather than Cylinders; as the eye witnesseth. So that here is a manifest inconformity to the Figure required indifferently in all the five orders. (2.) Their *Contraction*, or Lessening upward is not Uniform, but rudely various, in some greater, in others less, in none insensible, in all irregular: so as therein likewise they want the due proportion of Diminution common to all genuinely figured Columns. (3.) They have no *Pedestals* at all, being set in the ground; which is a third incongruity. (4.) The Perpendiculars of the Greater Circle are, according to *Mr. Jones* his measure, in altitude 15. foot and $\frac{1}{3}$, in depth 3. foot, and in breadth seven foot. Where then is to be found the proportion of Longitude to fix Diameters of the thickest part of the Column? (5.) Their *Intervalls*, or middle spaces seem to be about nine foot. For, *Mr. Jones* himself computes the length of each *Epistylium*, or *Architrave*, continued in round from Column to Column, to be precisely 16. foot; and there must be half the breadth of the Column, at each end, allowed for the meeting of the two Architraves in the middle, if not for the more firm bearing of their weight: so that measuring the distance of the supporters, by the remaining part of the Architrave, it will be nine foot. Which agrees not with the *Intercolumnium* of *Tuscan* Pillars. To conclude this paragraph, therefore; either the Conditions of the *Tuscan* Order here recited, are not according to the rules of Architecture taught by *Vitruvius*, and his excellent Interpreter, *Sr. H. Wotton*: or *Mr. Jones* was mistaken, when He conceived the Order of *Stone-heng* to be *Tuscan*.

(Thirdly,) As for the *Architectonical Scheme, in use among the* Romans, *consisting of four Equilateral Triangles inscribed within a Circle, by which He thought the whole work of* Stone-heng *designed and formed*; it is much easier imagined, than demonstrated to be really therein. For (1.) that Rule of *Vitruvius (lib. 5. cap. 6.)* to which He referrs us for certification; if you take it intire, and not the later half only, as He cunningly did, runs thus. *Ipsius autem Theatri conformatio sic est facienda, ut quàm magna futura est perimetros imi, centro medio collocato circumagatur linea rotundationis; in eaque quatuor*

tuor ſcribantur trigona paribus lateribus & intervallis, qua extremam lineam circinationis tangant, quibus Aſtrologi, ex muſica convenientia aſtrorum, ratiocinantur. By the very firſt words whereof it is moſt manifeſt, the Rule it ſelf concerns the deſignation, not of a round Temple, but of a *Theatre*; and the Context of the whole Chapter following declares it to have been invented for a threefold uſe, namely the moſt advantageous diſpoſition of the *Proſcenium*, *Scena*, and *Orcheſtra*; the equal diffuſion of the voyces of the Singers and Actors; and the convenient ordering of Seats for the Spectators. But, what's this to *Mr. Jones* his conceipt of a *Temple*; and ſuch a one too, as muſt bear the Aſpect *Hypæthros, ſive ſub divo, i. e.* open at top? However, conceiving this Text might ſerve his turn, and the great name of *Vitruvius* give ſome authority to his Phancy, that otherwiſe would hardly paſs among judicious men; he induſtriouſly uſurped the quotation of it, by perverting the genuine ſenſe to a wrong purpoſe; and to the end his Readers might be the longer in finding out the fraud, artificially omitting the citation of the particular Chapter, he leaves them to a tedious reſearch through the whole Book; a labour ſo great, the patience of moſt, though Learned, would not extend to the enduring of it, upon ſo ſlender an occaſion. (2.) The Queſtion is, not whether this kind of Architectonical Scheme were anciently uſed by the *Romans*, in ſome of their publick Ædifices; but *whether* Stone-heng *was formed according to ſuch a Scheme, or not? Mr. Jones*, indeed, hath expreſly affirmed it: but, how hath he made it appear? That he hath drawn four Equilateral and Equidiſtant Triangles within the circumference of the Greater Circle of ſtones, ſo as all the Angles are terminated in the circular line, is not ſufficient to prove it: foraſmuch as every Novice in Geometry underſtands how to inſcribe not onely 4. but 400. and many more ſuch Triangles, in the *area* of a Circle much leſs in diameter, than that he deſcribes. Nor is it ſufficient, that he tell's us, *the interſection of the ſeveral Triangles fully demonſtrateth after what manner the Greater Hexagon, made open at* Stone-heng, *was raiſed from the ſolid wall enviroming the* Cell *of the* Peripheros: becauſe our ſenſe aſſures us, there are no foot-ſteps or remains of any ſuch ſolid wall of a circular form, raiſed where the interſections of the Triangles are ſuppoſed to be made; and becauſe we have no evidence, but his ſingle word, that there is any *Hexagon* at all in the work; whereas, neither *Mr. Camden*, nor the *Author* of *Nero Ceſar*, nor My ſelf, nor any other (for ought I could ever learn, and yet I have enquired of many Gentlemen who had carefully ſurvey'd

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the Antiquity, and were well able to diſcern a Hexagon from a Circle) could ever perceive any ſuch matter. Again, though he ſpeaks of *Three Entrances leading into the Temple of* Stone-heng *from the Plain, and thoſe likewiſe comparated by an Equilateral Triangle*: yet is it manifeſt even from his own Draughts of the work, and its Platform, that all the Perpendiculars or Columns of the Outward Circle are equidiſtant each from other; and if ſo, where are thoſe Three Entrances? or how ſhould we diſtinguiſh them from the other intercolumniary, or void ſpaces? All which conſidered, there remains (as I think) no tye upon any mans belief, that *Stone-heng* was a Roman Structure, in reſpect of the Scheme, by which it was deſigned and compoſed.

(Fourthly,) As for the *Double Portico reported to be in the outward Circle, and another within the Greater Hexagon, formed after the Roman faſhion in ſtructures of great Magnificence*: that you may be the better able to judge, whether He were in the right, yea or no; give me leave to acquaint You, what a *Portico* properly is, what the *Roman* Architects called a *Double Portico*, and what *Mr. Jones* termeth *Porticoes* in this place. *Vitruvius* (*lib. 5. cap. 9*) ſetting down precepts for the conſtruction of *Porticoes* belonging to a Theatre, begins his diſcourſe thus. *Poſt ſcenam Porticus ſunt conſtituendæ, uti cum imbres repente ludos interpellaverint, habeat populus, quo ſe recipiat ex theatro*: "Behind the Scene are to be made Porticoes, to the "end the people may have whither to withdraw themſelves out of the "Theatre, when ſuddain ſhowrs diſturb their ſports. And *Philander* commenting upon theſe words, ſaith thus; *Porticus addita ſunt ſacris ædibus, illuſtrium virorum domibus, & publicis ædificiis, neceſſitatis, aut ornamenti, animive cauſſa; ſub eis repentinas pluvias vitabant, umbras ac frigora captabant, variis ſermonibus diem conſumebant, a meridie ſolem hyeme, a ſeptentrione æſtivas umbras excipientes*: "To "ſacred buildings, to the houſes of great perſonages, and to publique "ædifices are added Porches, for neceſſity, or ornament, or delight; "under them they ſheltred themſelves from ſuddain rains, they re"tired for ſhade and coolneſs, and talked away the day; receiving "Sunſhine from the ſouth in winter, and in ſummer ſhadow from the "north. From whence it is moſt cleer, moſt certain, that all Porticoes are additional ſtructures, wherein men may be protected from rain and ſun; ſuch as the memorable Porticoes of *Apollo Palatinus*, of *Auguſtus in campo Martio*, of the *Pantheon*, of *Antoninus Pius*, of the *Capitol* on the ſide of the *Capitoline* hill, in *Rome*. Of theſe Porticoes

ſome

ſome are made with *parietibus continuis*, ſolid walls on one ſide, and Pillars on the other; as in all *Peziſtylia*, or paved walks encloſed with Columns, ſuch as the coſtly Palace of *Urbin* at *Rome* is adorned with, ſuch as the *Cloyſters* in Monaſteries, ſuch as the walks under the *Old Exchange*, and thoſe commonly called the *Piazzaes* of *Covent-Garden*. *Others* conſiſt of ſolid walls on both ſides, with rowes of Pillars ſet at diſtance from the walls; of which ſort we have a glorious example in the *Portico* at the weſt end of *St. Pauls* Church, in deſigning and raiſing of which *Mr. Jones* himſelf was principal Architect. But *all* are *Tectæ*, Roofed or covered at top; otherwiſe how ſhould they ſatisfie the uſe or end for which they were intended, namely to ſhelter men from exceſſive heat in ſummer, and from wet weather in all ſeaſons of the year? As for *Double Porticoes*, they are no wayes different from ſingle ones, except in this only, that they have a double order or range of Columns. For, *Philander* interpreting theſe words of *Vitruvius* (*loco citato*) *circa theatra ſunt Porticus & ambulationes, quæ videntur ita oportere collocari, uti duplices ſint, habeantque exteriores columnas Doricas, cum Epiſtyliis & ornamentis, ex ratione modulationis Doricæ perfectas*; expreſly ſaith, *Porticus Duplices appellatæ ſunt a duplici columnarum ordine*, Porches are termed Double, from the double order of Pillars, of which they are compoſed. And theſe, doubtleſs, are the adæquate notions of Porticoes, both ſimple, and double: and what every man underſtands, when he hears them ſpoken of. But what *Mr. Jones* intendeth by Porticoes in *Stone-heng*; is difficult to be conceived from his own diſcourſe; and more difficult to be found in the work it ſelf: ſo that we are confined to the liberty of conjecturing. By the double Portico, therefore, in the outward Circle or wing of ſtones; He means either the double row of Pillars ſet in round, of which the inner conſiſteth of ſmaller ſtones, ſuch as he compares to *Pillaſters*: or the ſpace between each two Columns, with an *Architrave* over head. If the *firſt*; then it may be demanded, why the inner order of Columns are not equal in altitude to the outward, as they ought to have been by *Vitruvius* directions, and as they alwayes were in Roman double Porticoes? and why is one order covered with Architraves, the other not? If the *other*; it may be objected, the Portico then can be but ſingle, contrary to what it is ſuppoſed to be. The ſame may be ſaid likewiſe of the other Portico imagined in the Greater Hexagon. But, whatever part of the Fabrique He fancied to be a Portico; thus much is evident, that it will not afford defence againſt the injuries of immoderate heat or rain; and therefore

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deſerves not that Title, in ſtrictneſs of ſpeech. And it ſeems, He that took the liberty ſo to call it, was put to a hard ſhift to blanch over the ſingularity of his conceipt: For, ſtriving to aſſert it, to be cuſtomary among the old *Roman* Architects, to form the like Porticoes in their Temples, and more particularly in ſuch Temples, as properly belonged to the Aſpect *Hypathros*, or were Rooffleſs; rather than want the Patronage of *Vitruvius* in the caſe, he was forced to deprave the Text he alleged toward his defence. The words there lying in this order, (*lib.* 3. *cap.* 1. *ſub finem*) *Reliqua omnia eadem habent quæ Dypteros, ſed interiore parte columnas in altitudine duplices, remotas à parietibus ad circuitionem (ut porticus) Periſtyliorum*: not as He (*pag.* 70.) unfaithfully recites them, thus (obſerve I pray) *Hypathros in interiore parte habet columnas remotas à parietibus, ad circuitionem (ut porticus) Periſtyliorum*; adding and omitting what he thought fit. A courſe highly diſingenious, and in the end as highly ſcandalous. For, whoſo uſurps the licence of falſifying the Text of any Author, much more of one ſo grave and oraculous, as *Vitruvius*, whatever advantage he imagines may ariſe from thence to his private opinion, in caſe the impoſture be not detected: certainly it cannot countervail that ſhame and diſcredit that inevitably follows, when the judicious and examining Reader ſhall come, by having recourſe to the Original, to find how groſly he might have been deluded, had he truſted to the Quotation. And *he that makes no ſcruple to impoſe an error, by corrupting another's Doctrine, forfeits the credit he expects to his own, and is always to be ſuſpected of partiality to his Tenents, eſpecially where he broacheth Novelties, and venteth them upon no other Reputation, but that of his ſingle teſtimony.* It is but juſtice, therefore, if meeting with nothing in our Antiquity, that anſwers to any form of Porticoes, which, as Appendages to their Temples, were intiently erected by the *Romans*, and deſcribed by *Vitruvius*; nor having any other obligation to grant the being of any Portico there, beſides Mr. *Jones* his bare conjecture, and that upon grounds obſcure and fallible: I ſay, it is but juſtice if we ſuſpect, that He onely imagin'd them to be ſuch.

(5) As for the *Artifice, or Manner of Workmanſhip* ſhewn in *Stone-heng*, by which you are to underſtand onely the placing of the Upright Stones, anſwerable to Columns; moſt true it is, indeed, the old *Romans* uſed to ſet the Columns of publique Fabriques, at ſo much the leſs diſtance one from another, by how much greater the

Columns were in Diameter, naming that particular kind of range, *Pycnoſtylos*, i. e. *Crebris Columnis*, the *cloſe* order, from the cloſe or thick ſtanding of the Pillars. Nor is it leſs true, that in our Monument, the Perpendiculars, though extraordinary great in compaſs, have their intercolumnary ſpaces little in compariſon; becauſe of the weight of the incumbent Architrave, which might otherwiſe break of it ſelf. And yet nevertheleſs I think it ſcarce warrantable thence to conclude, thoſe Perpendiculars were erected by a *Roman* Artiſt. For, if you conſult *Vitruvius* (*lib. 3. cap. 2.*) about the true proportions of the Cloſe order; you may ſoon be informed by him in theſe few words: *Pycnoſtylos eſt, cujus intercolumnio unius & dimidiatæ columnæ craſſitudo interponi poteſt*; 'The *Pycnoſtyles* is that, where the 'Intercolumnium, or Intervall, is equal to the thickneſs, and half the 'thickneſs of the Column it ſelf. To whom *Bernaldinus Baldus* fully aſſents, in his explanation of the word *Pycnoſtylos*, (*Lexic. Vitruvian. pag. 96.*) where he ſaith; *Inde ſpecies iſta nomen adepta eſt, quod intercolumnium ſit moduli unius tantum cum dimidio.* Then if you eſtimate the intervall from Perpendicular to Perpendicular, in the great Round of *Stone-heng*, by the length of the Architrave betwixt its two Supporters, according to my manner of computation formerly given, you will find it to be about 9 foot, and ſo inconform to the Rule of the Cloſe order. After, perchance, you may give ear to my conjecture, That the Builder had reſpect chiefly to the length of the overthwart Stones, placing the Supporters accordingly, without any other conſideration or precept of Art, rather of Neceſſity, than Choice: and that if he could have been furniſhed with Stones fit for Architraves, of larger dimenſions in length and depth, (otherwiſe they could not have born their own gravity) in all likelihood he had proportionably enlarged the ſpaces of the Columns; it being evident, he made uſe of the greateſt Stones he could get, of both ſorts. But this is not material; it being ſufficient, that the Rule of the *Pycnoſtylos* was not exactly followed in the poſition of the Columns at *Stone-heng*; and conſequently, that the Manner is not *Roman*, as Mr. *Jones* would perſwade.

(6) As for the manner of *fixing the Architraves upon the head of the Perpendiculars by Tenons and Morteſes*; that likewiſe ſeems but an uncertain ſign of *Roman* Maſonry. For, thoſe Architraves being to be placed *in Æquilibrio*, ſo as the point of Reſt at each end ought to be there, where the weight was found equal on each ſide: all the Workman

Workman had to do toward their continuance in that posture, was, to contrive so to fasten them, as that no force of wind or tempest, nor any other (unless extreme) violence, by diminishing the gravity on one side, might incline or sway them to sink down on the other; which could not otherwise be effected, but by corroborating the *Æquilibrium* by Tenons made in the Supporters, and let into holes or Mortesses in the Architrave, no kind of Morter or Cement being strong enough for that purpose. And thus much common reason might teach the Masons, without any great skill in Geometry, or having recourse to either the Rules or Patterns of *Roman* Architecture. Which, perhaps, was the cause why *Vitruvius* spake so little of this way of confirming great stones in buildings, as taking it for granted, the contrivement was so plain and obvious to men, even of but common understanding, as that it was needless for him to insist upon any Precepts concerning it: For, all I can meet with in his whole Volume, relating thereunto, is onely a slight, transitory, and obscure touch, (*lib.* 2. *cap.* 8.) which is this, *Quod si quis voluerit in id vitium incidere, medio cavo servato secundùm Orthostratas intrinsecus, ex rubro saxo quadrato, aut ex testa, aut silicibus ordinariis, struat bipedales parietes, & cum ansis ferreis, & plumbo frontes vinctæ sint: ita enim non acervatim, sed ordine structum opus poterit esse sine vitio sempiternum, quod cubilia & coagmenta eorum inter se sedentia, & junctûris alligata non protrudent opus, neq; Orthostratas inter se religatos labi patientur.* From whence nevertheless little can be collected, that is capable of application to the manner of banding stones together in our Antiquity: all that is, we must be beholding to the industry of *Philander* for, who, after his interpretation of the word *Orthostratæ*, which signifies *upright Props*, such as the *Italians* term *Speroni*, *Pilastri contraforti*, addeth, *Inciduntur in his canales, in quos, veluti in fœminas, aliud quidpiam, ceu masculum, ineat committatur q;: cujusmodi sunt, quas nostri Mortesias, quasi Mordesias, à mordendo, vocant; commissuræ scilicet genus, cum perpetuo canali induntur, inseruntur vè tabulæ, aut quippiam simile.* Besides, though Mr *Jones* alleged the authority of *Leo Baptista Albertus*, the *Florentine*, to prove, that in mighty Structures, where the stones were of extraordinary greatness, the *Romans* used to lay them without any unctuous incorporating Matter between: yet he neither hath, nor could bring under the hand of any Author a Certificate, that no other Nation did the like before, or until after the *Romans* had, by Conquest, or Commerce, civiliz'd them. And, therefore, it was some-

what boldly done of him, to infer that *Stone-heng* was a *Roman* ſtructure, becauſe the Architraves were compacted to their Supporters by Tenons and Morteſes: when the Examples of the like way of Holdfaſts for huge ſtones, among other Nations, (ſome of which were at that time barbarous) are infinite, and ſtand in the road-way of every man's obſervation.

(7 And laſtly) As for the *frequency of Roman Relicks in Wiltſhire*, ſuch as Camps, Fortreſſes, Trenches, and the like, ſome of which are even to this day diſcernable, at leaſt by their prints or footſteps, in places not far from *Stone-heng*; I ſhall willingly allow thus much, that conjoyned with Hiſtory, they may be good teſtimonies of the lodging of *Roman* Armies in thoſe places, and of their military traverſes, during their War with the *Britans*; yet, ſeeing they carry no face of ſimilitude, nor ſhew of relation to our Antiquity, the Laws of Logick will juſtifie my warineſs and unbelief, if I doubt them to be ſo much as probable Arguments of the *Romans* being Authors alſo of that Work.

Having thus, thread after threid, unravell'd Mr *Jones* his long Web of Reaſons, which he thought ſo cloſely and artificially woven, as to be ſtrong enough to bind his Readers to a belief of his Opinion, that *Stone-heng* was a *Roman* Structure: give me leave to add an Argument or two of mine own, of ſo much weight, as would have alone been ſufficient to break aſunder his whole contexture, had I not weakned it at all.

Mr. *Camden*, in the cloſe of his Diſcourſe concerning *Stone-heng*, makes report of a certain Table, or plate of Metall, as it had been Tin and Lead commixt, found in or by the Monument, in the time of King *Henry* the viij. whereon were engraven many Letters, but in ſo ſtrange a Character, that neither *Sir Thomas Eliot*, nor Mr. *Lilly* Schoolmaſter of St. *Pauls*, could tell what to make of it; and ſo took no care to preſerve it. Now certain it is, this Inſcription was not left by the *Romans*, who generally wrote all their Memorials in their own Language, whoſe Character hath long out-laſted their Empire, continuing the ſame in all Ages; as appears even by their Coins of greateſt Antiquity, and all their Monumental Epigraphs, of which *Camden* hath collected a great number, ſuch as have been found in *England*, and *Gruterus* a large volume of others, diſpers'd not onely

onely through *Italy*, but all parts of the Earth, where ever the *Roman* Eagle pearch'd. Nor doth it appear to have been either *Greek*, or *Hebrew*, or *Britiſh*, or *Saxon*; becauſe all theſe Languages, and their ſeveral Characters, were well known to Sir *Thomas Eliot* and Mr. *Lilly*, who were excellent Linguiſts, and good Antiquaries, as the yet living Fame of one, and Writings of the other teſtifie. It remains, therefore, that theſe were *Barbarous* Characters: and if ſo, what hinders, but that we may gueſs them to be *Litteræ Runicæ, ſive Gothicæ*, the *Runic* or *Gothic* Characters, ſuch as were conſtantly uſed by the *Danes* in all their antique monumental Inſcriptions, or Engravements? Eſpecially ſince *John Speed*, in his Deſcription of *Devonſhire*, writes, That *near* Exmore *are certain remains of an antient Work, namely, mighty Stones, ſet ſome in form of a Triangle, others in round, orderly diſpoſed; and that upon one of them was an Engravement in* Daniſh *Letters, which could not be read by men moſt learned.* And that grave and univerſally learned man, *Olaus Wormius*, (Phyſician to the preſent King of *Denmark*, and not above four years paſt deceaſed, and who hath vouchſafed ſometimes to honour me with his Epiſtles) in his firſt Book, *cap. 9. de Monumentis Danicis*, taketh ſpecial notice of this Inſcription, and deploreth the unfortunate loſs of it, with *Utinam bono publico communicatum fuiſſet; forſan de rebus præclaris à noſtratibus ibidem geſtis teſtaretur.* That the *Danes* of old, affecting (as all other Nations of the world, however rude and illiterate) to perpetuate the remembrance of their notable actions and ſucceſſes, delighted to raiſe Monuments of their Battels, Victories, and other Atchievments, as alſo of their Kings, principal Commanders, and great Perſons; and leave ſhort Records of the particular occaſions of thoſe Monuments, ingraven in *Runic* Letters; beſides this, that they had none but the *Gothic* Language in uſe among them, is manifeſt from the teſtimony of *Saxo Grammaticus*, who (*in Præfation. Hiſtor. Danic.*) recommends the obſervation thereof to his Readers, as a thing neceſſarily conducing to their underſtanding many, otherwiſe obſcure paſſages in his Hiſtory. *Nec ignotum volo*, ſaith He, *Danorum antiquiores, conſpicuis fortitudinis operibus editis, gloriæ emulatione ſuffuſos, Romani ſtyli imitatione, non ſolum rerum à ſe magnificè geſtarum titulos exquiſito contextus genere, veluti Poëtico quodam opere perſtrinxiſſe; verum etiam majorum acta patrii ſermonis carminibus vulgata, linguæ ſuæ literis ſaxis ac rupibus inſculpenda curaſſe.* And as for Precedents or *Examples* of that kind, they are ſo numerous, that *Olaus Wormius* his

two

two Volumes, *De Monum. Danic. & de Literis Runicis*, moſtly conſiſt of ſuch: otherwiſe perhaps I ſhould have exerciſed your patience in reading ſome of thoſe more conſpicuous ones commemorated by *Saxo Grammaticus*, his *Commentator*, *Stephanus Stephanius*, *John Crantzius*, and other Writers of *Daniſh* Antiquities; that ſo I might have aſſiſted the probability of my conjecture, that the Characters on the Plate found by *Stone-heng*, were *Runic* or *Gothic*. However, you have ſeen upon what fair grounds you may entertain a perſwaſion, that they were not *Latine*, and therefore not left by the *Romans*.

Again, This our Monument conſiſteth wholly of Stones *unwrought*, *rough*, and *rude*, as they lay in their beds of earth, (their *Tenons* and *Morteſes* onely excepted) and of ſuch various ſhapes, that the moſt curious eye can ſcarcely find a perfect ſimilitude in any two of them: and Mr. *Jones* ought to have evinced, either by Teſtimonies authentick, or by Examples, that the *Romans* had ever raiſed any publick Structure of the like Materials; which being above his power (as I conceive at leaſt) he warily omitted to attempt it, as he did the proof of many other particulars equally important toward the verification of his grand Poſition. Whereas *Olaus Wormius* hath been ſo liberal in his Contributions toward the maintenance of my Suppoſition, as to furniſh me with not onely verbal Deſcriptions, but lively Draughts or Pictures alſo of ſundry Antique *Daniſh* Monuments, as well in the Bulk and Rudeneſs of the Stones, as in the Order and Manner of their poſition and ſituation, much reſembling our *Stone-heng*; and (as may be not obſcurely collected from a Conference of Times, Actions, Hiſtories, Ruines, &c.) not much different as to Antiquity. And this I think an Argument not unworthy your ſerious conſideration; if not weighty enough to counterpoiſe all the reaſons urged by Mr. *Jones*, to enforce his Dream, that the *Romans* were Authors of *Stone-heng*.

Having thus long entertained you, with examining the ſolidity of the *Firſt Story* of our Architect's phantaſtical Building; Time and Order joyntly command me to uſher you up to the *Second*: wherein I ſhall no longer detain you, than while I try the ſoundneſs of thoſe Beams, upon which He impoſed his ſo lofty conceipt, that *Stone-heng* was a *TEMPLE*. Which he preſumes

(1) From the ſpacious *Court* lying round about it, agreeing with thoſe of *Roman* Idolatrous Temples, wherein Beaſts brought for Victims were ſlain, and into which none but Prieſts might enter. To which it may be objected, firſt, That the void ſpace betwixt the utmoſt Circumvallation or Trench, in *Stone-heng*, and the Building it ſelf, doth not exactly correſpond with the *Atria* of *Roman* Structures; and therefore cannot, without corrupting the ſevere Dialect of Architects, be termed a *Court*. For, whoſo attentively peruſeth *Vitruvius* his Diſcourſe *De Atriis*, (*lib. 6. cap. 4.*) will ſoon perceive, that He by the word *Atrium*, conſtantly means *primum ædificium, quod anteriori januæ intrantibus occurrit*, the firſt Building that offers it ſelf to the ſight of thoſe who enter by the fore-gate: And *Bernaldinus Baldus*, in his Note upon the firſt line of that Chapter, ſaith, *Arbitramur nos vetera Atria, voſtrarum ædium parti illi reſpondere, quam vulgo* Anditum *dicimus*, Andatam, Caminatamve; *quæ quidem prima poſt ingreſſum oſtii introgredientibus occurrit; eaq; non quidem ſubdivalis, ſed tecta & concamerata.* To which may be annex'd the agreeable judgment of *Claudius Salmaſius* (*in Solinum, pag.* 1218.) *apparet Atrium, primo non fuiſſe veſtibulum; neq; aream Hypæthram; ſed partem ædis ſub tecto, atq; adeo penetrale, & fortaſſe concameratam porticum.* Seeing therefore, that the *Roman Atrium* always was covered at the top, and moſt frequently arched alſo; and that there is no ſuch thing betwixt the outward Circle of Stones, and the great Trench environing it: Where is the Analogy or Reſemblance ſuppoſed? Again, Indulging Him the liberty of our vulgar phraſe, according to which the *Area*, or plot of ground, betwixt a Building and its Boundaries, may rightly enough be call'd a Court: yet, where is the neceſſity, yea, where the probability, that that Court was originally deſign'd and marck'd out for a place for the ſlaughter of Victims? Muſt all Structures environed with ſuch *Areæ* be Temples? or all *Roman* Temples be accommodated with the like out-lets? If ſo, what will become of our Authors fancy, that thoſe vaſt Stones ſtanding in a Circle near *Long-Compton* in *Oxfordſhire*, called *Roll-ſtones*, were antiently a Temple, and a *Roman* one too? For, theſe are deſtitute of all outward circumvallation or entrenchment. But the force of this Argument depends, perhaps, upon its conſpiracy with its fellows; and therefore, if from them all put together, it ſhall appear, that our Monument was intended for a Temple; I ſhall no longer doubt, whether the void ſpace of ground within the Trench be the Court belonging to it.

(2) From

(2) From a large Stone, 16 feet long and 4 broad, appearing not much above the ſurface of the earth, in the Eaſtern part of the leſſer Hexagon, which He takes for an *Altar*. Whereunto I cannot aſſent, for two conſiderations. Firſt, the Humility of the Altar deſtroys the ſuppoſed Dedication of the Temple. For, the Rule of *Vitruvius*, how Altars ought to be placed in Temples, ſo as to carry a due Decorum, and viſible Analogie to the nature and proprieties of that particular Deity therein to be worſhipped, is this, *(lib. 4. cap. 8.) Altitudines Ararum ſic ſunt explicandæ, ut Jovi, omnibuſq; Cœleſtibus quàm excelſiſſimæ conſtituantur; Veſtæ, Terræ, Mariq; humiles collocentur.* Altars conſecrated to *Jupiter*, and all *Celeſtial* Powers are to be made exceedingly tall or high; and thoſe to *Veſta*, *Tellus*, and *Neptune*, humble or low; as in ſome ſort repreſenting the dwelling and dominion of the reſpective Deity. So that, this Stone was either no Altar at all, or not ordained for Oblations to the god *Cœlus*. If it be objected, that the Stone perhaps was ſet *upright*; I anſwer, Then it was as much too *narrow* on the top, for the uſe aſſign'd, as now too *low* for the God to whom it is aſcribed. Secondly, Mr *Jones*, in his Deſcription of the Monument (as you may remember) ſpeaks of three open *Entrances* leading from the Plain into the work it ſelf, the moſt conſpicuous of which lay *North-Eaſt*: which is openly inconſiſtent with the cuſtome of the *Romans*, who always made the grand Entrance into the Temple, whatever it were, *è regione Altaris & Signi*, in that part, which was directly oppoſite to the place where the Altar and Statue ſtood erected; and the reaſon was, *Ut adoratum venientes Divinitatem ſuſpicerent*, That the people coming up to make their adoration, might at their entrance have both Altar and Image in front, ſo as to behold them at firſt elevation of their eyes. Would you have Authority for this? Hear *Vitruvius* himſelf, *Ædes autem ſacræ Deorum immortalium, ad regiones quas ſpectare debent, ſic erunt conſtituendæ, uti, ſi nulla ratio impedierit, liberaq; fuerit poteſtas ædis, Signum quod erit in Cella collocatum, ſpectet ad veſpertinam cœli regionem: uti qui adierint ad aram immolantes, aut ſacrificia facientes, ſpectent ad partem cœli orientis, & ſimulachrum quod erit in æde; & ita vota ſuſcipientes contueantur ædem, & orientem cœli, ipſaq; ſimulachra videantur exorientia contueri ſupplicantes & ſacrificantes; quodq; Aras omnes Deorem neceſſe eſſe videatur ad orientem ſpectare, (lib. 4. cap. 5.)* Whence we may ſafely conclude, that if the poſition of the Altar were right, yet that of the principal Entrance leading up to it was wrong. But ſhould we grant this to

have

have been originally an Altar-ſtone; yet doth it not follow, that therefore the reſt of the Building was a Temple: becauſe in Stories, as well Sacred, as not, we read of many Altars ſtanding alone, without Temples; and becauſe it was one of the barbarous cuſtomes of the *Danes*, even in the ſtony Sepulchres of their mighty men, to erect Altars, and thereon to ſacrifize to their Manes; witneſs *Olaus Wormius*, (*Monum. Danicor. lib.* 1. *cap.* 6.) *Diverſi ab his cernuntur Tumuli, ſaxis grandioribus undiq; cincti, ita ut utrumq; extremitatem mole vaſtiora reliquis claudant. In medio utplurimum Ara extat. In hiſce vulgus Gigantes ſepultos credit, quorum oſſa etiam haud raro è talibus effodiuntur. Sed ego ejuſmodi integris etiam familiis deſtinatos puto, unde & in his Aræ, quæ communia ſacrificia pro totius gentis incolumitate immolata excipiant.* With which if you compare *Stone-heng*, together with our vulgar tradition of Giants there interr'd, and the skuls of Oxen or Buls plowed up in the adjacent fields: You will find as much reaſon to believe it a Sepulchral Monument ſet up by that warlike and ambitious Nation, in the time of their tyranny here, with an Altar in the middle, for their Pagan and impious Sacrifizes, as, with Mr *Jones*, to conceive it a *Roman* Temple.

(Thirdly,) From the *uſe of the ancient* Romans *to erect the like Round Temples, that lay open without Walls, ſurrounded only with Pillars, and uncovered alſo on the top, or Rooffleſs.* Which being his part to prove, and he finding it impoſſible; he betook himſelf to multiplication of Fictions, confuſion of things cleerly diſtinct, and other diſingenious ſhifts; ſuch as have indeed amuzed and impoſed upon vulgar heads, but can never convince the Learned and judicious, who are not ignorant, how ſtrictly conſtant the *Roman* Architects were to their ſet Forms and Orders of Building, upon no occaſion commixing or confounding them in publique ſtructures, eſpecially ſacred ones, where the paſſenger was to be inſtructed at firſt ſight, what Deity was adored within, by the peculiar forme of the Temple apparent without; that ſo he might prepare and addreſs his devotion accordingly, without being miſtaken either in the Object, or ceremonies of it. But, let us not judge Him unheard. He allegeth, out of *Vitruvius* (*lib.* 4. *cap.* 7.) that the *Romans* had round Temples of two divers Forms: whereof the one, named *Monopteros*, had neither continued walls about, nor Cell within, but was encompaſſed only with a round of Columns; the ther, termed *Peripteros*, had a Cell encloſed with a continued wall,

and Columns ſet at convenient diſtance, ſo as to make a Portico round about on the outſide. And this I allow to be true: but what though? our *Stone-heng* reſembles neither of theſe Forms: not the *Monopteros*, becauſe it hath a *Cell*, as Himſelf ſuppoſeth; not the *Peripteros*, becauſe it wants a continued *wall* to incompaſs that Cell, as our eyes witneſs. Where then is the Similitude and Conformity? Why, rather than fail, our Author ſhall adventure to make that like to both, which really is like to neither. For ſtealing the outward Circle from the *Monopteros*, and the Cell from the *Peripteros*, and then again ſurrounding that ſame Cell (not with a Circle, as he ought, but) with a *Hexagon* of Pillars: of both Forms He makes a *Third*, not being able to withhold from confeſſing (ſo much had the joy of his Εὕρηκα, εὕρηκα, tranſported him) in the end, that it was a *New Invention*, which yet he needed not to have told us. So here you find him guilty of a double fault; confounding of two perfectly and irreconcileably diſtinct Forms of ſacred Edifices; and converting a Circle, the eſſential and proper figure of all ſuch Cells, as belonged to the *Peripteros*, into a *Hexagon*. Is this fair and candid dealing, think you, in a man of Letters? Doth it become one of the moſt famous Architects of our age, thus to build Caſtles in the air, and flye to a ſanctuary made up of Fictions? But this is not all. From a ſtrange and unheard of confuſion of ſeveral Forms, He proceeds to blend together alſo ſeveral *Orders* of conſecrated Buildings. For, He will have the Order, of which his Temple of *Stone-heng* muſt conſiſt, to be partly *Tuſcan*, partly *Corinthian*: affirming, that *as the plainneſs and ſolidneſs of the* Tuſcan *order, appears eminently through the whole Work, ſo the narrowneſs of the ſpaces betwixt the Stones, viſibly diſcovers the delicacy and ſoftneſs of the* Corinthian. Where (not to take notice of the manifeſt contradiction in the very terms) He incurrs a grand Error, in commixing, in one Temple, two ſo different Orders; when, by his own confeſſion, (*pag.* 90.) *the* Romans *had for each of their Deities a certain particular Order of Temples, and obſerved that diſtinction of Orders ſo ſtrictly, that they ſeldome or never varied them.* According to that of *Vitruvius*, (*lib.* 4. *cap.* 7.) *Non omnibus Diis iiſdem rationibus ædes ſunt facienda, quòd alius alia varietate ſacrarum Religionum habet effectus.* And had they not done ſo, How could the *Roman* Architects of old, have been able, at firſt ſight, to judge to what Divinity this or that Fane was peculiarly devoted? or, How could the Modern Architects of *Italy*, at this Day, by ſeeing onely the ruines of them, give ſuch probable conjectures, concern-

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ing their antiquity and proper Dedication, as are very hardly to be contradicted? But, why am I thus prodigal of my time and pains, in ſhaking an opinion, that hath no foundation of either Precept, or Precedent from antient Architecture? eſpecially when the Founder Himſelf was forced to excuſe the fragility and weakneſs thereof, with this Plea; *The learned in Antiquities very well know, thoſe things, which oblivion hath ſo long removed out of mind, are hardly to be diſcovered.* (*Pag.*77.)

(4 And laſtly) *From the Heads of Bulls, or Oxen, of Harts, and other ſuch Beaſts, digged up in or near this Antiquity*; as if no man could imagine other, but thoſe were the Heads of ſuch Beaſts, as were antiently made Holocauſts in that place. Why, is it not equally probable, they might be the ſkulls of Cattel ſlain for the ſuſtenance of ſome one or other of thoſe many Armies, that encamped on the adjacent Plain, where the Lines of their Entrenchments and Fortreſſes are yet viſible? Was it not a common thing for Armies to carry along with them whole Herds of Beaſts for their Proviſion, and to bury the bones of ſuch as they killed, in places ſomewhat remote from their Camps? And, as for Harts; it is well known, both by tradition among the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Villages, and by other teſtimonies yet remaining, that all the Plain from *Stone-heng* to *Ambresbury*, was, till within theſe 200 yeares, a Foreſt full of great Trees: and therefore not improbable, but the Heads of Deer might lie there, without any relation at all to *Stone-heng*. But grant them to be the Offall or Reliques of Sacrifices; yet what reaſon, they ſhould be *Roman* Sacrifices, when the *Danes* alſo uſed the like, as may appear from what I lately delivered out of *Olaus Wormius*, of the cuſtome of that Nation to offer Beaſts in Sacrifice to the Ghoſts of their deceaſed Commanders, upon their Sepulchral Monuments? This Argument, therefore, being as invalid as the reſt, and altogether very unſatisfactory: it plainly appears, that Mr *Jones* his Imagination had too powerful an Influence over his Reaſon, when He judged, upon ſuch ſlender Evidences, that our Antiquity was antiently a *Roman* Temple.

We ſhould, in the next place, conſider His Reaſons for the entitling this Structure to the God *Cœlus*: but ſeeing it doth not appear to have been a Temple; 'twere in vain to be ſollicitous about the *Dedication* of it. Omitting, therefore, to take notice of ſundry

Defects and Incongruities, as well Architectonical, as Hiſtorical, obſervable in that Later part of our Authors conceipt; as Errors that ſtand naked to every enquiring eye, and cannot hide themſelves from even the Emblem of Juſtice: I here take my final leave of his ſo vulgarly admired *Book*; having, in memory that I peruſed it, firſt ſubſcribed this ſhort Animadverſion, at the end of it. *Nunquam mihi placuit audaculorum quorundam ratio, quibus nihil eſt tam obſcurum, tam q, abſtruſum, & procul ab hominum memoria poſitum, quod ſuarum conjecturarum ſagacitate non fiat clarum, apertum, & cognitum. Nimium credulis ingeniis, & diſcendi cupidioribus rogati ultrove præſtigiis & officiis imponunt, mentiuntur effoſſa marmora, at q, adeo inſcriptas urnas, quæ nuſquam fuerint, imo quæ nec per ſomnum quidem viderint.* Which, though ſpoken by the grave *Philander*, in reproof of certain over-weening and audacious Wits, that thinking themſelves quick-ſighted enough to ſee through the darkneſs of oblivion, and make diſcoveries where Time had long ſince interpoſed its ſable curtain; had pretended to find a Temple of the *Sun*, in the confuſed ruines of a Tower that ſtood upon the *Mons Quirinalis* in *Rome*, to that purpoſe counterfeiting Marble Pillars, and Urns, with formal Inſcriptions: may yet be well accommodated to *Others*, who, ambitious to be thought *Argoſes* in the ruines of Antiquity, ſpare not to point at things inviſible, to deſcry in Monuments more than the Founders themſelves ever deſigned, to form to themſelves Examples that never were, and in favour of their own extravagant imaginations, to corrupt the teſtimonies of Authors moſt venerable, and falſifie the Records of antient Cuſtoms.

What the *Romans* claim was, You have heard, at large: Hear now, in ſhort, alſo

The Title of the DANES *to* Stone-heng;

Which is grounded chiefly upon Cuſtom, and Preſidents. For that they, more than any other Nation whatſoever, were in old time, and even a good while after the refinement of their barbarous Manners, and converſion to Chriſtianity, accuſtomed to erect Monuments of huge Stones, upon ſeveral memorable occaſions; and ſuch Monuments, that compar'd to our (or their) *Stone-heng*, ſeem to agree therewith in moſt, if not in all points of reſemblance; where-

of

of many are at this day extant in *Denmark* and *Norwey*: is not hard to prove, from the undoubtable testimonies of their best Historians and Antiquaries.

Olaus Wormius (*lib.* 1mo *Monum. Danic.*) being to reduce into order that great multitude of Stony Monuments in his Country, of which, as the most worthy to be commemorated, He had proposed to himself to treat; first makes a general division of them into *Two Classes*: namely, *Literata, quæ ex saxis constabant literatura prisca, vulgo Runica, exteris Gothica, exaratis*, Letter'd Monuments, such as consisted of large stones, with Inscriptions of *Runic*, or *Gothic* Characters, speaking their occasions and intentions; and *Illiterata, quæ ex rudibus quibusdam illiteratis, certo tamen ordine & serie dispositis*, Unletter'd, which were composed of rude stones, without engravements, but so disposed after a certain manner, as that the Beholder might from the order of their position collect, upon what Accidents, and for what Ends or Uses they had been set up. So that *These*, though destitute of the Elements of Language, were not absolutely Dumb, but spake their particular purposes in a more obscure Dialect of Figures, and were read in the Alphabet of their proper Platforms. Then he subdivides this later sort into *Five* distinct *Ranks*; namely, into *Sepulchra*, Tombs containing the bones of eminent persons defunct: *Fora*, places of Judicature, where Right and Justice were administred, according to the Laws and Customs of the Country: *Duellorum Strata*, Cirques or places of Duells, or Camp-fights: *Trophea*, Trophies, where Battells had been fought, and the Enemy defeated: and *Comitialia loca*, places wherein Kings and Supreme Commanders were elected by the general Suffrages of the People, and Inaugurated with great Pomp and publick Solemnity, such as the rudeness of that Nation, and the simplicity of those times afforded. This Scheme being drawn, as the rule of his Method; He thence-forward proceeds to Examples of each kind. And we are obliged therein to follow Him step by step; that so we may the sooner, and without deviation, arrive at a competent degree of satisfaction, whether any, and which of all those different sorts of Antique Monuments hath so near a resemblance of *Stone-heng*, as that we may, from the apparent *similitude* of their *Forms*, infer a probable *affinity* in their *Origines* and *Designations*; which is the period of our travail.

As for the *Literata*, which carry their Age and Titles engraven on

on their fronts; they lie not in our way, our Antiquity having no Inſcription on any of its Stones: and though that Plate of Metall with barbarous Characters, of which we have formerly taken notice, might probably appertain unto it; yet is not that ſufficient to appropriate it to the order of Monuments, whoſe dignity and value conſiſt chiefly in their *Epigraphs*. Ranging it, therefore, among the *Illiterata*; let us a while inſiſt upon a particular ſurvey of thoſe: beginning at the Antique *Daniſh*

Sepulchres.

Whereof I meet with ſome, in *Olaus Wormius*, that are in more than one point of analogy correſpondent to *Stone-Heng*.

One ſtands in *Seland*, on a plain, near the high-way leading to a certain ſmall Town, called *Birck*; formed according to this deſcription of our Author. *Ex ſaxis rudioribus mediocribus, quadrata in longitudinem tendens, ducta eſt area; huic tres colles ſeu Tumuli incluſi, undiq; circa radicem, ejuſdem fermè magnitudinis ſaxis cincti. Major meditullium occupans, in apice aram habet ex ſaxis quatuor ſtupendæ magnitudinis exſtructum, ita ut tria quartum maximum & planum ſuſtineant.* "A plot of ground, of a ſquare "running out in length, is empalled with rude ſtones, not of the "largeſt ſcantlings: in which are included three Mounts of Earth, "circumſcribed at their baſes with ſtones of the like bigneſs. The "greateſt Mount, ſtanding in the middle, hath on its top an Altar "made up of four ſtones of ſtupendious magnitude, ſo as three ſtand-"ing in Triangle, ſupport the fourth upon their heads, which is the "greateſt of all, and plain or flat.

A *Second*, ſituate not far from the ſame place, and ſomewhat more eminent, conſiſteth of a *Tumulus*, or mount of earth caſt up, under which, the common people have a Tradition, that a Giant, whoſe name was *Langbeen Kiſer*, was antiently buried; and encompaſſed with fifty ſix ſtones of prodigious bulks. *Moles hæc ſaxa pereuſſa, reboat, ut concameratum opus ſubeſſe colligere facile quis poſſit*, ſaith our Author; this maſſive Structure being knock'd hard with a ſtone, yields a great ſound like the Ecchoes of Vaults, ſo that it is eaſily to be collected, that there is an arched or vaulted hollowneſs underneath.

Here

Here let us make a ſtand for a minute or two, and reflect upon a few particulars that offer themſelves to our obſervation. *Firſt*, theſe two Sepulchral Monuments are ſituate in *Campis patentibus*, in open and ſpatious fields; a cleer evidence, the *Danes* (as many other Nations) anciently uſed to bury in large and wide plains. *Secondly*, they threw up mounts of Earth over their dead: and thoſe of two ſorts, according to the qualities of the perſons inhumed. For, of theſe *Tumuli*, ſuch as were ſimple and naked, ſerved to denote the interment of Common Souldiers, together with their inferior officers, ſlain in battel upon the place: but thoſe compaſſed about with great ſtones, ſet in ſingle, double, or treble order, were deſigned to conſerve the memory of great Captains or Generals. For, *Wormius* touching upon theſe *Tumuli*, left this remark concerning their Diſtinction. *Qui rudiores ſunt, ex ſola terra in rotunditatem & conum congeſta conſtant; ex iis, qui una vel multiplici Saxorum ſerie circa baſin cinguntur, excitatum Imperatoribus, aliisque Magnatibus dicati creduntur; ut Simplices nullis ornati lapidibus, militibus ſtrenuis, & athletis de patria benè meritis.* Howſoever, in thoſe Martial times, when no vertue could render any man noble or great, but Fortitude, and Honour lay in the ſtrength rather of the Arm, than of the Head; the Armies of this Nation conſtantly preferred monuments of mighty ſtones, much above thoſe *Tumuli*, or (as we call them) *Burrows*; nor ever entruſted the fame of their Worthies to ſuch ſimple and homely conſervatories, but only in places where Rocks and Quarries were ſcarce. This we learn from a very remarkable text in the Commentaries of *Petrus Lindebergius*. *Sciendum autem, quòd Dani, eum propter defectum ſaxorum Pyramides ac Obeliſcos extruere minimè potuerint, olim in memoriam Regum & Heroum ſuorum ex terra coacervata ingentem molem montis inſtar eminentem ſtatuerint.* From whence it is very plain, that the old *Danes* uſed not to inhume their Chieftains and higheſt Commanders under Tombs of Earth, but in caſe of neceſſity, where neither the place of the battel, in which they were ſlain (if they dyed in war) nor the Country neer it, afforded them ſtones of dimenſions fit for Pyramids and Obeliſques. Otherwiſe they made uſe of ſtones of the largeſt ſize they could poſſibly get: ſparing no pains nor coſt to raiſe them up into the moſt magnificent Fabriques, their little skill in Architecture could amount to. Hereupon *Wormius*; *Ætatis progreſſu plus operæ in Magnatum tumulis poſitum videtur. Nam, non ſolum iis grandes cippos patriis literis notatos impoſuerunt, defuncti titulos exhibentes: ſed etiam tumulos ipſos tam in apice, quam circa baſin*

baſin viſenda magnitudinis cinxere ſaxis, aream inſuper quadratam adjicientes, quæ totam molem grandioribus includeret, &c. To which we may opportunely ſubjoyn a parallel record of *Chriſtianus Cilicius (lib. 1. Belli Dithmarſici.) Erant*, ſaith He, *Magnatum Danicorum ſepulturæ in ſylvis & agris, tumuloſque aggeſtis lapidibus veſtientes muniebant; quod genus complures paſſim adhuc viſuntur, qui Gigantum Strata vocantur.* Mark here the near affinity of the very Name; *Stone-heng* being by all our Authors, who have mentioned it, called *Chorea Gigantum*, the Giants Dance, and the moſt magnificent Stony Monuments of the *Daniſh* Princes, *Strata Gigantum*, the Giants pavements or paths. The *laſt* obſervable is, that in many of their Sepulchral piles they placed an Altar; *eo fine*, ſaith *Wormius, ut ibidem in memoriam defuncti quotannis ſacra peragantur*; that they might yearly offer ſacrifices to the defunct, at leaſt in memory of them, upon the place of their inhumation. Of this we have a ſufficient confirmation from a note of *Ubbo Emmius, (lib. 1. Hiſtor. Friſ. pag. 21.) Commemoratione dignum videtur, quod in Regione hac ingentis molis ſaxa complura, quæ nulla vectatione, nulla vi hominum illac deportari potuiſſe, & magnitudinem credas, congeſta inveniantur, quorum ea diſpoſitio eſt, ut Aras referre videantur. Nam jacentibus nonnullis, alia iis impoſita ſunt plana, relictumque foramen, per quod reptare homo poſſit*: "it deſerves commemoration, that in this Country are found "multitudes of Stones congeſted of ſo vaſt maſſes, that you would be-"lieve them impoſſible to be removed by any Engines, by any the "greateſt ſtrength of Men; and ſo diſpoſed, as to repreſent Altars. "For upon the heads of ſome, others are impoſed, of a plain figure, and "a hole or empty ſpace left underneath, through which a man may "creep. Nor ought it to ſeem ſo ſingular and ſtrange a piece of Superſtition, for a phlegmatique and dull-headed Northern Nation, to ſet up Altars in the midſt of ſuch ample and maſſive Tombs: when Temples themſelves firſt grew up out of meaner Sepulchres, even among the Grecians. This perhaps, you'l ſmile at, as a paradox; and therefore it behooves me to produce ſome credible Authority to aſſert it. *Clemens Alexandrinus (in Protreptico)* is the man, who both expreſly avoucheth it, and brings ſeveral Inſtances to prove it, thus. *Superſtitio templa condere perſuaſit. Quæ enim prius hominum ſepulchra fuerunt, magnificentius condita, Templorum appellatione vocata ſunt. Nam apud Lariſcam civitatem in arce, in templo Palladis, Acriſii ſepulchrum fuit, quod nunc ſacrarii loco celebratur: in arce quoque Athenienſi, ut eſt ab Antiocho in nono Hiſtoriarum ſcriptum, Cereris ſepulchrum*

fuit

fuit : in templo vero Palladis, quem Poliada Græci appellant, jacet Erichtonius, &c. But we have made too long a Hault in this place, and it more imports us, to proceed to

"A *Third* notable Example of Stony Sepulchres in *Denmark*, "Which compoſed of a *Tumulus* or Burrow caſt up in the middle, "and three orders of hugé Stones ſet in manner of Columns, at equal "diſtance, the outmoſt making a large quadrangle of fifty paces length "in each ſide, the other two perfect Circles one within another; pre- "ſents it ſelf to the admiration of paſſengers, on a plain, about a mile "from *Roeſchild*, and neer the high way that leads from thence to "*Frederiksburgh*. Of this *Ol. Wormius* hath given a perfect Draught, "(*Monument Danicor. pag.* 35.)

For a *Fourth*, I have, among many others, choſen the notable Monument of King *Harald Hyldetand* (whoſe courage, continency, and wiſedome, together with his happy ſucceſſes in warr, are highly celebrated by *Saxo Grammaticus*) which yet remains neer *Lethra*, or *Leire*, in *Seland*, anciently the ſeat of Kings, now a decaid obſcure village: *ſaxis grandioribus ſtipatum, in mediuſullio immenſa mole quadrata, minoribus aliis innixa exornatum*; compaſſed about with ſtones of extraordinary greatneſs, and in the middle ennobled with one Square ſtone, or rock, of an immenſe bulk, reſting upon the heads of others of inferior magnitude; whoſe picture, though in too ſmall a module, is taken alſo by our Author.

Now, from the various ſtructure of theſe four grand Sepulchres, neither of which doth fully quadrate with other; it is manifeſt, the Founders were not ſtrict in obſerving any ſuch ſet form of placing their ſtones, that might at firſt view diſtinguiſh them from other Monuments; unleſs in this onely, that the Exterior Muniment or pale of great ſtones was commonly either exactly ſquare, or neerly approaching that regular figure. And yet ſometimes they varied from that alſo, as *Wormius* himſelf confeſſeth. For, albeit in his general deſcription of the faſhion of this ſort of Sepulchres, he tells us, they had *aream quadratam, quæ totam molem grandioribus ſaxis includeret*: yet afterward, in the ſame Chapter, he mentions ſome, that had not been formed according to that rule. His words are, *Diverſi ab his quidam cernuntur tumuli, figura oblongiori, congeriæ depreſſiori, ſaxis grandioribus undique cincti, ita ut utramque extremitatem mole va-*

ora reliquis claudant, &c. But of this first Kind of Unlettered Danique Monuments, we have taken a sufficient survey. Let us pass, therefore, to the *Second*, viz. *Fora*, or

Places of Judicature.

Where judgment was publickly given concerning Right, and litigious sures determined betwixt subject and subject, according to the Known laws and constitutions of the country; and that either immediately by the King himself, where the parties concerned were Noble, or the matter in controversie important; or otherwise by his deputed Judges, in cases of less moment. These Courts were, like Justice her self, naked, and open; standing, not in Cities, nor Towns, but in fields and spacious campanias; nor covered with roofs, but with a kind of rude magnificence made only of a certain plot of ground, of a Quadrangular, or Oval figure, set apart by an enclosure of the vastest stones, that could possibly be had, placed like Columns, at equal distance; with one great stone, for a judgment seat, in or neer the middle: as appears from the remains of Two (anciently very eminent) yet visible in *Denmark*.

The *One* in *Seland*, neer the City Dzething; whose manner of structure, and capacity *Ol. Wormius* having with great diligence survey'd, he thus describes it. *Vidi illud quadraginta sex saxis stupendæ magnitudinis cinctum fuisse, eminente in ejus meditullio grandiusculo quodam; omnia vero in ovalem dispositæ erant figuram, ita quidem, ut utrinque ad latera, circa medium porta quasi, vel aditus pateret meridiem & septentrionem versus. Longitudo nonaginta passus æquabat, latitudo viginti.* This *Forum*, or Ting (in the *Danique* lan- "guage) was begirt about with forty six stones of wonderfull magni- "tude, and had one great stone standing in the middle: all the stones "of the Enclosure were disposed into an Oval figure, so that about the "middle, on each side, was left as it were a gate, or Entrance, one to- "ward the South, the other toward the North. The length of the o- "val was ninety paces, the breadth twenty.

The *Other* neer Aalmuntorp, *undique saxibus septum*, hemm'd in on all sides with stones equal to *Rocks*: which gave name to the place where it stands, that being called Tinget, to this day. Many other of the

the ſame kind are to be ſeen in other Provinces of *Denmark*; ſaith our *Author*.

As theſe Courts of Juſtice were rude in their Fabrique, ſo for many Ages together, were the ways of *Trial* practiſed in them. For, from *Frotho Magnus*, who ſwayed the *Daniſh* Sceptre, about the moſt happy time of our *Saviour's* Nativity, down along until the Reign of *Suenotto*, in the year of our Lord 986. all weighty and difficult controverſies were decided *per Monomachiam*, by Duel; the Defendant being obliged to combat the Plaintiff openly within the liſts of the Court, and prove the goodneſs of his cauſe by the ſharpneſs of his weapons, without other Advocate but his own courage. A very ſavage and unequal manner of trial this! where always the Sword of Juſtice was put into the hand of the Criminal, where many times Right had no Vindication but from Fortune, and the moſt Innocent, if overcome, was either to die upon the place of his purgation, or, what's more grievous, to become Slave to his unjuſt Accuſer. Yet men were hereto bound by a ſevere Law, made by the ſaid *Frotho*, and recited by *Saxo Grammaticus*, (*Hiſt. Danic. lib.* 5.). After, the Beams of the Chriſtian Faith ſhining on thoſe northern Nations, and in ſome degree overcoming the gloominеſs of their barbarous Manners and Cuſtomes; that Law was abrogated, and in the place of Duels, the ſomewhat leſs cruel, but not much leſs uncertain way of Trial *per Ordelium*, by *Fire-Ordeal*, ſucceeded; and was continued in the ſame Courts, till about the year of Chriſt 1350. it was condemned by a decree of the *Lateran* Council, and an Edict of King *Woldemarus* II. an Extract of which you may find in *Wormius*, (*Monum. Danic. lib.* 1. *cap.* 11.) Then began all cauſes to be determined by the judgment of twelve *Jurors*, as here with us in *England*; not but this way was much more antient, (for it is aſcribed to *Regnerus* ſirnamed Lodbzog, who ruled in *Denmark* about the year of Chriſt 820; and as ſome *Daniſh* Writers boaſt, was derived from him to our *Etheldred*) but it ſeems not to have been either by univerſal cuſtome eſtabliſhed, or by ſtrict and penal Laws enforced, ſo as totally to exclude the *Ordeal* in all caſes, until the ſaid *Woldemarus* his days. And *Harald* the vij^th^, after the abolition of Duels, introduced a new, but pernicious manner of determining contentions, by which the Party accuſed might purge himſelf of whatever Crime charged upon him, *Solo juramenti ſacramento*, by onely his own ſingle Oath, *id q; contra omnem teſtium fidem*, and that againſt the

cleareſt teſtimony of Witneſſes: as *Saxo Grammat.* hath left upon record, (*lib.* ij.) But the unreaſonableneſs hereof was ſo great, and the evil conſequences ſo many, that it could not continue long. Notwithſtanding the ways of Trial were thus various; yet the places were ſtill the ſame, namely, theſe open and rude Courts here deſcribed. From which we paſs to the Third ſort of *Danique* unletter'd Monuments, *viz.*

Places of Combats, or Fights.

Theſe were, indeed, always deſigned by Great ſtones, but not conſtant to any one Figure, ſo as to be thereby alone diſtinguiſhable, without the help of Tradition. For, though *Saxo Grammat.* (*lib.* 1. *cap.* 29.) willing to give ſome directions, how, from the ſeveral Ordinations of the Stones, Poſterity might gueſs aright at the ſeveral Occaſions, upon which they were ſet up; delivers this as a general Rule: *Recto & longo ordine pugilum certamina; quadrato turmas bellantium, & ſpharico familiarum deſignantia ſepulturas; ac cuneato equeſtrium acies ibidem, vel prope, fortunatius triumphaſſe:* yet *Wormius* profeſſeth, he much doubted whether this order were every where ſtrictly obſerved, or not; afterward alleging Examples of different Figures.

One he mentions out of the Author of *Hiſtor. Bremenſis,* (*lib.* 2. *cap.* 9.) that conſiſting of one mighty Stone, was erected in memory of a Duel fought near a place named **Agrimeſwedel**, in which a famous Combatant, **Wiurguido**, overcame and ſlew a Champion of the *Slavi*, and acquired immortal honor.

Others he ſpeaks of that were marked with many huge ſtones ſet equally diſtant each from other, in a *ſtreight* line; ſome that were truly *Girques*, and ſome *Quadrangular*: all which, together with the Laws and Manner of ſuch Camp-fights betwixt the Champions of ſeveral Kings, You may ſee fully deſcribed by him, (*Monum. Danic. lib.* 1. *cap.* 9.) In the mean time I haſten to the *Daniſh*

Trophies,

Or Monuments of great *Battels* fought, and *Victories* obtain'd. Which, though agreeing among themſelves, in their durable and maſſie

maſſie Materials, are nevertheleſs irreconcilably diſcrepant in their Forms. So that in theſe, as well as in the other ſorts hitherto ſurvey'd, the Founders ſeem to have entruſted the remembrance of their glorious Succeſſes, as much to the voice of Fame, and popular Tradition, as to the obſcure ſignification of any one Figure or Scheme obſerved in the Monuments themſelves: or elſe varying the Platforms of their Triumphal Piles, according to the various circumſtances of their Encounters, and fortunate Atchievments, and the commodities of the place; they left Poſterity, who could not arrive at certain knowledge of thoſe Circumſtances, to grope after their particular Stories, in the darkneſs of uncertain conjectures. This our Author, *Ol. Wormius*, was too ingenuous to excuſe, or conceal; and therefore though, in compliance with the former perſwaſion of his Country, he tells us, *Integri exercitus ſtragem lapidum quadrata in plani diſpoſitione indicaſſe*, "That the antient *Danes* by ſtones diſ-"poſed into a Quadrangle, ſhewed the overthrow of a whole Army "of their Enemies, upon or near that place: yet he immediately ſubjoyns, *Verum non ubiq; ab omnibus præciſe obſervatum fuiſſe hunc ordinem ac diſpoſitionem ſaxorum, plane mihi perſuadeo*; "But I "perſwade my ſelf fully, that this order or diſpoſition of the ſtones, "was not preciſely obſerved by all, in all places. However, it imports us not to pretermit an *Example*, or two, of theſe huge Triumphal Antiquities.

In the Dioceſs of *Bergen*, on a wide mountainous place, near a Village, called Tyſnes, you may, with a delightful wonder, behold ſix ſtones of an incredible magnitude, reſembling Pyramids, erected at equal diſtances, in two ſemi-circles, one within another; each environed with two entire circles of leſſer ſtones of Oval figure; and in the middle of the intercolumnary ſpaces in each ſemi-circle, a great multitude of the like ſtones heaped one upon another, till they amount toward a Cone: and all in a moſt elegant order, ſet up in memory of a bloody Battel fought upon the place; as the people of the Country report by hear-ſay from their fore-fathers, though their relations differ in many circumſtantial particulars. After this deſcription, our Author addeth, *Plura ejuſdem generis & alibi in eadem Diœceſi videre & obſervare licèt, figura quidem diverſa, ſed eundem in uſum fabrefacta.*

But, what need we travel into *Denmark*, for Patterns of this kind of

of Monuments, when we have two moſt notable ones here at *home*, one in *Cornwal*, another in *Oxfordſhire*? which, if you have not beheld with your own eyes, and dare give credit to Mr *Camdens*, you may have them repreſented to you in theſe his Deſcriptions.

"Near St *Neoths* in *Cornwal* (ſaith he) upon a plain adjacent to a "wondrous pile of Rocks heaped up together upon one ſtone of leſſer "ſize, faſhioned naturally in form of a Cheeſe, ſo as it ſeemeth to be "preſſed like a Cheeſe, whereupon it is named, *Wring-Cheeſe*; are "to be ſeen many great ſtones, in ſome ſort four-ſquare, of which "ſeven or eight are pitched upright, of equal diſtance aſunder. The "neighbour Inhabitants term them *Hurlers*; as being by a devout and "godly error perſwaded, they had been Men ſometimes transformed "into Stones, for profaning the Lord's Day with hurling the Ball. "Others would have it to be a Trophy or Monument, in memorial of ſome Battel. And ſo doubtleſs this was, and not improbably left by the *Danes*.

"Not far from *Burford*, upon the very border of *Oxford-ſhire*, "is an antient Monument, to wit, certain huge ſtones placed in a "circle. The common people call them *Roll-rich ſtones*, and dream "they were ſometimes Men, by a miraculous Metamorphoſis turned "into hard ſtones. The Draught of them, ſuch as it is, pourtraied "long ſince, here I repreſent unto your view. For, without all form, "and ſhape they be, unequal, and by long continuance of time much "impaired. The higheſt of them all, which without the Circle look-"eth into the earth, they call the King; becauſe he ſhould have been "King of *England* (forſooth) if he had once ſeen *Long Compton*, a "little Town lying beneath, and which one may ſee, if he go ſome "few paces forward: other five, ſtanding at the other ſide, touching "as it were one another, they imagine to have been Knights mount-"ed on Horſeback; and the reſt the Army. Theſe would I verily "think to have been the Monument of ſome Victory, and haply "erected by *Rollo* the *Dane*, who afterward conquered *Normandy*. "For, what time He with his *Danes* troubled *England* with depre-"dations, we read, that the *Danes* joyned Battel with the *Engliſh* "thereby, at *Hoch Norton*; a place for no one thing more famous in "old time, than for the woful ſlaughter of the *Engliſh* in that fough-"ten field, under the Reign of King *Edward the Elder*.

To

To theſe may be annexed another eminent Trophy, known by the name of *Stipperſtones*, ſtanding upon *Huckſtowe* Forreſt in *Shropſhire*, conſiſting of great piles of ſtones, and others like Rocks perpendicularly erected thickly together, and ſet up to perpetuate the renown of a fatal defeat given to the *Britans* by *Harald*. Concerning which *Giraldus Cambrenſis* hath this clear teſtimony. Harald *in perſon being himſelf the laſt footman, with foot-men, and, light arms, and victuals anſwerable for ſuch an Expedition in* Wales, *valiantly went round about through all* Wales, *ſo as that he left few or none alive. And for a perpetual memory of this Victory, you may find very many great ſtones in that country erected after the antique manner upon hillocks, in thoſe places wherein He had been Conqueror, with theſe words engraven*, Hic fuit Victor Haraldus: *Here was Harald Conqueror*. Now theſe being ſufficient inſtances of *Danique* Triumphal Monuments, it remains onely that we ſearch after ſome of their *Loca Comitialia*, or

Places deſigned for the Election and Inauguration of their Kings.

In which, not onely their Noble-men and Grandees, but alſo the Commons being upon ſummons aſſembled from all parts of the Nation; uſed to conſult and vote about matters of State of greateſt importance, more eſpecially upon the death of the Prince; and in that caſe, to give their Suffrages for the next in blood, or power, to ſucceed him. This buſineſs, as being of moſt concernment to the Publick, was performed with pomp and ſolemnity anſwerable; the manner and Ceremonies whereof are conciſely ſet down by *Saxo Grammaticus*; thus. *Lecturi Regem veteres affixis humo ſaxis inſiſtere, ſuffragia q; promere conſueverunt, ſubjectorum lapidum firmitate facti conſtantiam ominaturi*: "Our Fore-fathers being to elect their King, "uſed to ſtand upon ſtones pitch'd upright in the ground, and to give "their ſuffrages; by the firmneſs of the ſtones upon which they ſtood, "tacitly declaring the firmneſs of their act, and as by a good Omen "foreſhewing the durability of his government. And *Ol. Wormius* more fully deſcribing the manner, both of the open Senate-Houſe, and of the Election it ſelf, ſaith, *Reperiuntur in his oris loca quædam, in quibus Reges olim ſolemni creabantur pompa, quæ cincta adhuc grandibus ſaxis, utplurimum duodecim, conſpiciuntur, in medio*

grandiore

grandiore quodam prominente, cui omnium ſuffragiis electum Regem imponebant, magnoque applauſu excipiebant. Hic & comitia celebrabant, & de regni negotiis conſultabant. Regem verò deſignaturi, Electores ſuos inſiſtebant forum cingentibus, decreti firmitudinem pronunciantes: "in this Country are beheld certain Courts of Parlia-
"ment, in which heretofore Kings were elected with ſolemn ſtate;
"which are ſurrounded with mighty ſtones, for the moſt part twelve in
"number, and one other ſtone exceeding the reſt in eminency, ſet in
"the middle, upon which (as upon a Regal Throne) they ſeated the
"new elected King, by the general ſuffrage of the aſſembly, and in-
"augurated him with great applauſe and loud acclamations. Here they
"held their great Councils, and conſulted about affairs of the King-
"dome. But when they met together to nominate their King, the
"Electors ſtood upright upon the ſtones environing the Court, and
"giving their voyces, thereby confirmed their choice.

This rudely-magnificent Cuſtome of Electing the ſupreme Magiſtrate, in ſuch open circles of huge ſtones, and after ſuch a manner; as it was of higheſt Antiquity, ſo was it likewiſe of greateſt Duration among the *Danes*. For, *Bernhardus Malincrot (in libr. de Archicancellariis, p. 158.)* through a long ſeries or deſcent of their Kings, brings it down to the time of the Emperor *Charls the fourth*, who publiſhing that ſo renowned golden Bull *de Electione Imperatorum*, gave occaſion to the abrogation of it.

Yea, ſo ſacred were theſe Courts, and in ſuch high eſteem and veneration were they held, for many hundreds of years together; that even in time of publick peace and tranquillity, the Candidate King was *de jure* obliged there to receive his ſolemn Inauguration, and aſſume the Enſigns of Royalty: as if the Place and Ceremonies were eſſential parts of his right to ſoveraignty, and the votes of his Electors much more valid and authentique, for being pronounced in that *Forum*. And if it hapned that the King fell in ſome forein expedition, by the hand of the Enemy, or by a leſs glorious death; there enſued an *Inter-regnum*, till ſuch time as his ſurviving Army had in ſome convenient plain brought together a multitude of the largeſt ſtones they could poſſibly find, and ſet them both for the interrment of his Corps, and the election of his Succeſſor: and this as well becauſe they reputed an Election in ſuch a place, a good addition of Title; as becauſe many great and irreparable incommodities might redound to the Republique during

during that pauſe or reſpite of Government, in caſe the new election were deferred, until they had returned into their own Country, and aſſembled the beſt part of the Nation in ſome one of their ancient Kings-benches, as they may be properly enough termed, conſidering their dignity and uſe. To authoriſe this, which otherwiſe might be thought ſomewhat romantique, I am provided of a text out of a very grave and faithfull writer of that Nation, *Suaningius*; which is well worthy my recital, and your ſpecial conſideration; being that which gave me the firſt hint for my conjecture touching the End or purpoſe, for which *Stone-heng* was built. The text is this; *Locum publicæ Regiæ electionis poſtquam incolis convenientem, ad quem, nulla obſtante itineris difficultate, omnes qui erant vocati, venire poſſent, elegiſſent; ſaxa grandia ſingulari opera atq; ſtudio conquiri, atq; in eundum locum, quem electioni Regiæ deſtinarant, comportari curarunt. Neq; enim tum, quemadmodum hodie, deſtinata electioni Regum certa erant loca, ſed pro arbitrio ſententiaq; eorum, qui autoritate & potentia alios antecellebant, eligebantur. Huc comportata ſaxa conſcendentes hi, quibus eligendi jus commendatum erat, circumſtante populo, ſuffragia ex iis ferebant*: and may be thus Engliſhed. "When for the publick "election of the King, they had made choice of a place convenient, "to which all that were ſummoned might, with the leaſt difficulty of "travail, repair; they took care, that ſtones of extraordinary greatneſs "ſhould be, with ſingular labour and diligence, ſought forth, and "brought together in the ſame place, which they had appointed for "the Royal Election. For, there were not then, as now a dayes, cer-"tain appointed places for that affair; but ſuch were choſen, at the "pleaſure and judgment of thoſe, who excelled others in authority "and power. Upon the ſtones brought hither, thoſe to whom the "right of electing was delegated, mounting up, delivered their ſuf-"frages, the people ſtanding round about below. The ſame in every particular is confirmed by the learned *Stephanus Stephanius*, in his Commentaries upon the firſt Book of *Saxo Grammaticus* his Hiſtory of *Denmark*; whither I remit the unſatisfied.

As for *Examples* of this nobleſt and moſt magnificent ſort of Monuments; *Olaus Wormius* hath furniſhed us with Three very conſpicuous ones; one in *Seland*, neer Lethe, called Kongſtolen, or Kings throne; another in *Schoneland*, not far from *Lundie*, in which homage was annually paid to King *Olaus*, and *Chriſtianus* the firſt was with royal ſolemnity inaugurated and inveſted with regal ornaments; a

hird neer *Viburg*, in the *Cimbric* territory, in which common tradition will have *Dano* the first to have been likewise elected, and inthroned, as the name Danerlting, which to this day it bears, seems to witness. And the reason he gives, why there is one in each of these three Provinces, is, that anciently they were distinct Principalities, and under the dominion of as many petty Kings; though now reduced under the soveraignty of a Monarch, the present King of *Denmark*.

Nor are we destitute of the like in *England*. For, in *Cornwall*, on a large plain, called *Biscaw Woun*, near a village named *St. Buriens*, stand erected, in a circle, nineteen huge stones, distant each from the other about twelve foot; with one stone far higher and greater than the rest in the Centre. Which though *Camden* suppoſeth to be some Trophy left by the *Romans*, under the later Emperors; or else by *Athelstane* the *Saxon*, when he had subdued the *Cornish* men: yet considering, on one side, that the *Romans* used not to eternize their victories here, or else where, by any such Trophies; and, on the other, that there was a time, when the *Danes* also had not only *Cornwall*, but all *England* beside, under their barbarous subjection; and that this Monument doth in all particulars correspond with the Courts of Elections Royal in *Denmark*, of which I am now speaking; considering this, I say, no reason appears to the contrary, but I may assent to the opinion of *Wormius*, that it was, after a great defeat of the English *Saxons*, by his Country-men, erected for the Election of their own King, and the investiture of him with the soveraignty of his newly acquired Principality.

Here, perhaps, You'l be a little surpriz'd, if I adventure to make our *Stone-heng* it self bring up the rear of this last and most Gigantique division of *Danique* Antiquities. But, it is my Conjecture; the ultimate scope of my so laborious Enquiry; the point in which all the lines of this long discourse concentre. Wherefore, having now at length brought you to a place, where You may at once behold the strength of all those several Reasons, that conspired to suggest that opinion to me: it is fit I should draw them together in as small a compass, as I can, and so present them to your consideration, while what hath been delivered both of all the *Danish* Unletter'd Monuments in general, and in particular of their *Courts for Election of Kings*, is yet fresh in your memory. And this, I conceive, may be most concisely, and

and most advantagiously effected, by way of Parallel, or Comparison, in this plain and easie Method.

The Ancient Courts of Parliament in Denmark *always*

I.

WEre situated in large and open Plains not far from some Town, of competent reception, at least for people of the best Quality: and

II.

In, or neer to the middle of the Kingdom; that such as were summoned to convene, upon the Election of a King, or other affair of publick importance, might repair thither with equal conveniency: and

III.

Upon a gently rising ground, for the advantage of prospect, and that the Common people assembled to confirm the suffrages of the Electors, by their universal applause and congratulatory acclamations; might see and witness the solemn manner of the Election.

STONE-HENG likewise

I.

STands in a spacious Plain, about two miles distant from Ambresbury, *anciently a Town of great note: and*

II.

In a mediterranean or mid-land Country; for so Camden *calls* Wiltshire: *and*

III.

Upon a plot of ground somewhat more eminent, than the circumjacent Plain, which enlargeth the prospect of the Pile, and which cannot be approached but by an easie ascent, on all sides.

IV.

Were open on the Top, and sides; that so the King elect standing in the middle, might be beheld from all quarters of the neighbouring Plain; and the Votes of the Electors the better heard by the multitude, standing round about, at a becomming distance.

V.

Made onely of huge stones, the largest that could possibly be found any where in the Country; rude, unhewn, of no certain figure.

VI.

And these set upright, at equal distance each from other, in a Circle; that so the Electors standing upon them might make a round:

VII.

With one stone taller and bigger than the rest, erected in the Centre, for the King to stand upon, and shew himself to the people, at the time of his Inauguration, and receive their joyfull Acclamations, wishes of felicity, and other testimonies of submission and fealty.

IV.

Is uncovered above, or roofless, and environed not with continued walls, but stones pitcht upright; so that such as stand on any side without, may perceive what's done within.

V.

Made of stones of vast magnitude; and unhewn, as they came from the Quarry, of no regular figure: and

VI.

These set in round, equally distant among themselves, and perpendicular;

VII.

With one Stone, in the inmost circle (now lying along and broken, but at first set upright, and then probably placed at the very centre of the whole work) whose remaining fragments put together make, according to Mr. Jones *his accompt, sixteen feet in length; Which is as likely to have been a* Longstolon *(as the* Danes *call theirs) or Kings throne, as an Altar.*

VIII. With-

VIII.

Without any Inſcription, o Letters ingraven upon any one of the Stones: becauſe the Fabrique was ſufficiently Known by its proper Form; and the Uſe in a peculiar manner cuſtomary to the *Danes*.

VIII.

Having no Epigraph, cut, or trencht in any of the Stones; as carrying a ſufficient evidence of its Deſignment and uſe, in the figure of its plaiform, and perfection in all eſſential parts; and ſpeaking its Founders, in the (in thoſe dayes) well-underſtood language of its vaſtneſs, and the ſimilitude it bore to others erected by the ſame Nation in their own Country.

Thus far, You ſee, the *Parallel* holds in all particulars, even to a high degree of Reſemblance; there being no one thing in the *Antique Courts of Parliament* yet remaining in *Denmark*, which is not to be found alſo in our *Stone-heng*. Some things, I muſt acknowledge, are obſerved in *This*, more than in *thoſe*: and leſt I might be thought over-favourable and partial to my own Conceipt; if I ſhould omit to note them; I ſhall particularly obſerve what they are.

The *Firſt* apparent Difference, then, conſiſts in this; that *in* Stone-heng *the number of ſtones is much greater*. Which notw thſtanding may without much difficulty or ſtraining be reconciled, by reflecting upon the Examples of the Courts of Elections Royal in *Denmark*, newly alleged. For, though *Ol. Wormius* ſaith, that thoſe conſiſted for the moſt part of twelve huge ſtones ſet upright, after the manner of Pyramids, or Columns, in the circumference of a Circle, and one, more eminent, in the Centre: yet ſo far is he from confining all of the ſame ſort to that, or any other definite number, that he brings ſeveral inſtances of ſome that came ſhort of, and others that much exceeded it. So that from thence we may ſafely collect, that in old time the *Danes* made their *Courts* of this Kind, ſometimes of fewer, ſometimes of more Columns; according to the ſcarcity, or abundance of fitting ſtones, in the Country, in which they occaſionally raiſed them; if not alſo according to the leſſer or greater number of *Electors*, who were

were to ſtand and vote upon them. Nor is it to be unregarded, that at *Stone-heng*, the inmoſt Circle (if, at leaſt, that may be called a Circle, which really is a *Polygon*; ſuch flat and broad Pillars, being, in reſpect of their want of *Convexity* on their out-ſides, incapable to make a perfect Circle) contains onely twelve ſtones; which agrees exactly with the moſt ancient patterns.

The *Second* is this, that *Stone-heng* hath *Three* circular orders of Stones, whereas the *Others* have no more than *one*. Which nevertheleſs may receive a ſatisfactory Solution, as the former, either from the greater plenty of convenient ſtones in *Wiltſhire*, yea in ſundry places not very remote from the work it ſelf, of which wee ſhall ſhortly have occaſion to take particular notice: or from the greater number of *Electors*, who being of the Nobility, and principal Officers of Armies, in proceſs of time were multiplied to a more numerous liſt, than in former ages, as may be obſerved in all other nations alſo: or perhaps from hence alſo, that *Stone-heng* was deſigned both for a Sepulchral Monument of one King, or General, there ſlain in battail; and for a Court of Election for his immediate Succeſſor. For, you may remember, I have already acquainted You, how uſual a thing it was amongſt the *Danes*, to celebrate the Funeral of one Prince, and ſolemnize the Inauguration of another, at one and the ſame time, and in one and the ſame place; perpetuating the memory of both, by circles of vaſt ſtones: and that I exemplified this in the maſſive Tomb of King *Harald Hyldetand*, which was both a Sepulchral Monument for Him, and a Court of Election for ſucceeding Kings, for many ages after. Nor have I omitted, to ſupply you with deſcriptions of two famous *Danique Antiquities*, that conſiſt of a *Threefold* order of Stones, all of magnitude equal to, if not much tranſcending thoſe of *Stone-heng*.

The *Third*, and laſt point of Diſparity is, that in *Stone-heng*, the outmoſt and inmoſt rounds of Columns are furniſhed with *Epiſtyles*, or *Architraves*, reſting upon their heads; but none ſuch are found upon the upright ſtones in any of the Courts of Election in *Denmark*. But, this, as the two former, may be referred to the great abundance of ſuch ſtones in *Wiltſhire*, more than in any province of *Denmark*; where they were not to be had but rarely, as is intimated in that text of *Petrus Lindebergius* formerly quoted, *Dani cum, propter defectum Saxorum, pyramides & obeliſcos extruere minime potuerint, olim in memoriam*

memoriam Regum & Heroum ex terra coacervata ingentem molem montis instar eminentem statuêre; "The *Danes* when they could "not, for *want of Stones*, erect Pyramids and Obeliſces, heretofore "they caſt up a huge Mount of Earth, in memory of their Kings and "Heroes. Nor was it unuſual to them, to raiſe up from the ground ſtones of wonderful ſcantlings, and impoſe them, in manner of Architraves, upon the tops of others; eſpecially in their works of greateſt Magnificence, and where they intended to raiſe admiration in poſterity, at the prodigious ſtrength, and extraordinary means required to advance ſuch huge weights, to ſo great a height: as I have formerly proved both by authentique Teſtimonies, and agreeable Examples. Being, therefore, through the fortunate ſucceſs of their Arms, in poſſeſſion of *England*, and aſſembling in *Wiltſhire*, where they met with ſtore of materials fit for their purpoſe; and propoſing to themſelves to erect a ſtately Monument, after the faſhion of their own Country, with ſome addition of vaſtneſs correſpondent: it is not improbable, that they made choice of this kind of Superſtructure of Architraves, or plain long ſtones laid overthwart upon the tops of the Columns; as that which might both hold ſome analogy with other Monuments in their own Nation, and alſo be of conſiderable uſe, in affording more convenient and firm footing for ſuch perſons of honourable condition, who were principally to give their Votes at the Election of the King, ſtanding in round upon the ſtones; eſpecially when their late Victories had augmented the ſtock of their Nobility, and who, perhaps, were by this time more than could ſtand upon the ſingle Columns, and needed the addition of Architraves to ſupport them at the Solemnity.

And thus you ſee, how the points of *Diſſimilitude* or *Inconformity* betwixt *Stone-heng*, and its more antique Patterns in *Dane-land*, may be reaſonably ſolved. However, it cannot be denied, but they are, both in number, and weight, much inferior to the particulars of the precedent *Parallel* or *Reſemblance*: and therefore ought not to be put in the Balance againſt them, nor to be thought of ſuch importance, as to detract from the veriſimility of my Conjecture, that *Stone-heng* was principally, if not wholly, deſigned and raiſed for a *Court-Royal*.

But, this Diſcovery (at leaſt, if it may deſerve that name) is a work of Supererogation, my undertaking from the firſt, having been onely to make it appear highly probable, that *Stone-heng* originally

was

was a building of the *Danes*. Which, if I miſtake not, I have to a competent degree of ſatisfaction effected.

Nevertheleſs, I muſt not forget to obſerve one thing more, not unworthy ſerious conſideration: which is this, That among all our antient Hiſtorians, who wrote of the ſtate of *Britain* as well before, as under the *Romans* and *Saxons*, recording not onely all the moſt memorable actions, paſſages, and memorials whatever, but alſo inferiour occurrents, and that even to ſuperfluity; no one hath ſo much as mentioned *Stone-heng*, until a long time after the *Danes* had conquered *England*, and were afterwards forced to reſign it to the *Engliſh* again, upon the deceaſe of *Hardi Canute*. For, the firſt Author, in whom any word is found concerning it, was *Geffery* of *Monmouth*, who (together with his fellow Hiſtoriographers, *William* of *Malmesbury*, *Henry* of *Huntington*, and *Simon* of *Durham*) lived in the days of King *Stephen*. No contemptible Argument, that in *England* no ſuch Monument, as *Stone-heng*, was extant, until the *Danes* had over-run and conquered this Nation: it being hard to conceive, that thoſe Writers, who committed to record matters of much ſmaller moment, and (according to the Monkiſh humour of thoſe darker times) ſo much delighted themſelves in relating wonderful accidents, and extraordinary adventures; would have condemned to oblivion ſo eminent a thing as *Stone-heng*, and in a deep ſilence have paſſed over the moſt admirable Antiquity of *Great Britain*.

And as for the vulgar conceit, that the *great decay of the Structure ſhews it to have been more antique, than the* Daniſh *Invaſion and Conqueſt here*; it may be eaſily ſolved by anſwering, that the ruines evidence themſelves to be the effect, not of *Time*, (the ſtones themſelves being of a temper ſo compact and hard, that the iron teeth of that conſuming Enemy cannot gnaw or corrode them; nor any force of tempeſts impair them in the leaſt) but of the ſacrilegious violence of *Men*, who have thrown down moſt of the Architraves, and removed many of the more portable ſtones, converting them to private uſes in Buildings, Land-marks, &c. as appears by ſome yet to be ſeen in the neighbouring Villages and Fields.

And if the greatneſs of its ruines ſince cannot, certainly, much leſs ought the *Vaſtneſs* and *Stupendious Dimenſions* thereof, when it was entire and complete, to be thought ſufficient to diſpoſſeſs the *Danes* of

of the honour of its Extruction. For, of all Nations in the world, they appear to have taken the moſt both of Delight and Pains, in ſearching after, and bringing together mighty ſtones, whereof to make their Monuments: ſparing nor time, nor coſt, nor labour, yea many times engaging the whole Nation almoſt, to contribute their hands and purſes together, toward the advancing ſuch prodigious Piles. To teſtifie this, the Hiſtory of *Norwey* aſſures us, in the life of *Haraldus Harfagre*, that two petty Kings of that Country, conſumed three whole years, and a vaſt treaſure, in caſting up a Sepulchral Mount, and fencing it about with ſtones of Gigantick magnitude. And *Saxo Gnammaticus (lib. 10. Hiſt. Danic.)* writing the glorious actions of *Harald*, ſirnamed *Blaatand*, the ſon of *Gormond* and *Thyra*, (daughter of K. *Ethelred* of *England*) among other his great exploits, tells us, that "He ſet his whole Army, and another of Oxen, on work, to remove, "from the *Jutland* ſhore, one immenſe Stone, or little Rock, and "bring it to the place, where the body of his Mother lay inhumed, "that by erecting it over her grave, he might at once eternize the me-"mory of her virtues, and of his own filial piety: being ſo far ele-vated with the glory of the attempt; that he boaſtingly demanded of one of the Officers of his Navy, who was preſent, *An tantam aliàs molem mortali manu tentatam conſpexerit*, "If ever he had ſeen "ſo mountainous a Bulk undertaken to be tranſported by mortall "hands. Upon occaſion of which very relation, *Ol. Wormius (Mon. Danic. pag. 39.)* concludes; *Non igitur in ſumptibus parentalibus faciendis ulli genti ceſſiſſe videntur Noſtrates, & pluris hi Tumuli olim conſtiterunt, quam hodie à nobis æſtimantur*; "Our Country-"men, therefore, ſeem inferiour to no Nation, in ſumptuous Funerals "for their Anceſtors, and theſe Sepulchres heretofore coſt much more, "than is in our days imagin'd. To confirm this aſſertion yet fur-ther, give me leave to urge one moſt pertinent and pregnant teſti-mony, out of the Preface of the ſame *Saxo Grammat.* Danicam *re-gionem Giganteo quondam cultu exercitam, eximiæ magnitudinis ſaxa veterum buſtis ac ſpecubus affixa teſtantur. Quod ſi quis vi monſtroſa patratum ambigat, quorundam montium excelſa ſuſpiciat, dicat q3, ſi callet, quis eorum verticibus cautes tantæ granditatis in-vexerit. Inopinabile nam q3 quivis miraculi hujus æſtimator advertet, ut molem ſuper plano minimè vel difficile mobilem, in tantam montanæ ſublimitatis apicem ſimplex mortalitatis labor, aut uſitatus humani roboris conatus extulerit. Utrum verò talium rerum Authores poſt diluvialis inundationis excurſum Gigantes extiterint, an viri corporis*

viribus ante alios præditi, parum notitiæ traditum. "That *Dane-*
"*land* antiently was inhabited by Giants, ſtones of wonderful mag-
"nitude, affixed to the Sepulchres and Caves of our Anceſtors, bear
"witneſs. Which if any doubt to have been effected by monſtrous
"ſtrength, let him behold the tops of ſome Mountains, and tell, if he
"be able, who brought thither Rocks of ſuch immenſe greatneſs. For,
"every competent Judge of this wonder will perceive it to exceed
"the imagination of man, how the meer labour of Mortals, or uſual
"effort of human ſtrength could advance to a point of ſuch mounta-
"nous ſublimity, a weight not at all, or not without extreme diffi-
"culty, movable even on plain ground. But, whether the Authors
"of theſe mighty works were Giants, living after the Deluge was
"fallen; or Men endowed with extraordinary ſtrength of body: is
"not to be known from Story. Now, if any unprejudicate man,
having heard theſe teſtimonies, ſhall firſt enquire of our Hiſtorians,
what mighty Armies, and numerous ſwarms of people, were brought
out of thoſe Northern Countries to infeſt *Britan*, together with their
too proſperous ſucceſſes in many fights; and then conſider with him-
ſelf, what ſuch vaſt numbers of men employed at once, and am-
bitiouſly co-operating in ſuch a work, might be able to perform, in
a few years, yea months, and that by meer natural ſtrength, without
any great skill in Mechaniques, or the Art of removing great weights
by Engines: certainly, he will find no difficulty in admitting it to be
as poſſible, and perhaps more probable, for the *Danes* to have brought
the great ſtones at *Stone-heng* to that ground, and there erected them
in the order deſcribed; as for the old *Britans*, *Romans*, *Saxons*, or
any other *Nation*.

Eſpecially when it is moſt probable, that thoſe ſtones were fetch'd
no farther off, than from *Aibury* or *Rockly*, about three or four miles
diſtant from *Marleborow* in the ſame County. For, in the Fields adjoyn-
ing to thoſe two Villages, and principally the later (which as *Camden*
obſerves, borrowed its name from thence) there ſtand up great ſtones
like Rocks, infinite in number; all which perfectly reſemble thoſe at
Stone-heng, in colour, grain, hardneſs, and branching of veins; and
many of them alſo in figure and proportions: brought thither, as is
vulgarly, and perhaps not untruly, believed, by the violence of the
univerſal Deluge, and there left in Vallies, as the force of the currents
abated. Theſe ſtones I my ſelf have often ſeen, in journeys to
Bath from *London*; and comparing them with thoſe at *Stone-heng*, found

ſo

ſo great an Analogy betwixt them, that ever ſince I have reteined an opinion, the Founders of that Monument furniſhed themſelves with Materials from the fore-named places; among ſo great a multitude ſelecting ſuch, as in magnitude and ſhape might beſt comport with their deſignes; and tranſporting them from thence. But *How?* or *by what means?* That's the greateſt wonder of all!

Concerning this grand Difficulty, therefore, I ſay; That though the unlearned Vulgar may be diſpenſed withall, to admire the tranſportation of ſuch ſtones, as an effect of more than Human Art and Strength; and accordingly to have recourſe to the ridiculous Fable of *Merlin*'s bringing them out of *Ireland* by Magique Diabolical, and the help of Spirits: Yet to Scholars and Travellers, the matter will appear to come ſo ſhort of the Miracle, as ſcarce to attain to a Compariſon with ſundry other performances, not onely of the Ancients, but of the Moderns alſo, in the like kind.

For, among the *Ægyptian* Monuments of extraordinary labour and magnificence, we read in *Herodotus* (*lib.* 2. *cap.* 175.) of one huge Pyramid, built by King *Cleopes*, in which was not one ſtone leſs than 30 foot long, and all of them fetch'd from *Arabia the Rocky*: and how *Amaſis*, another *Ægyptian* Monarch, had a houſe of pleaſure for himſelf, cut out of one entire ſtone, 21 cubits long, 14 broad, and 8 high; and alſo made the Statue of a *Sphinx*, or *Ægyptian* Cat, of another ſingle ſtone, which was in length 143 feet, in height 62, and in compaſs of the Head 102. And *Diodorus Siculus* (*Biblioth. lib.* 1. *ſect.* 2.) reports of *Seſoſtris*, a third King of *Ægypt*, that in a Temple of *Vulcan* at *Memphis*, he erected two Statues, one for himſelf, another for his wife, each of one ſolid Stone, and 30 cubits high.

Among the *Jewiſh*, we read in *Joſephus* (*de Bello Judaic. lib.* 6. *cap.* 6.) of three magnificent Towers built by *Herod*, in which every ſtone being of white Marble, was 20 cubits long, 10 broad, and 5 high: and which was yet more wonderful, the old wall it ſelf was ſituated on a ſteep riſing ground: ſo that 'tis ſcarce imaginable by what puiſſant means ſo many ſtones of ſuch prodigious weight, ſhould be taken whole out of the Quarrey, and conveyed to a place of ſuch eminent altitude.

Among the *Grecian*, we read in *Pliny* (*lib.* 36. *cap.* 14.) that

in that ſo famous Temple of *Diana* in *Epheſus*, were 127 Columns, each conſiſting of one ſtone, 60 foot high; all taken out of the Quarries in *Aſia*: not to inſiſt upon the mighty *Rhodian Coloſſus*, of which Fame hath ſpoken with all her tongues.

Among the *Roman*, beſides the prodigious brazen *Coloſſus* of *Nero*, deſcribed by *Suetonius*, (*in vit. Neron.*) we read, in *Pancirol.* (*de deperdit. titul.* 31.) of ſundry *Obeliſks*, made of ſo many whole ſtones; whereof ſome were 40, ſome 80, others 90 cubits high; moſt of them brought from *Ægypt* to *Rome*, and there ſet up; with this Diſtich engraven upon one of them.

Si lapis eſt unus; dic, qua fuit arte levatus?
Sed ſi ſunt plures; dic, ubi congeries?

If this be one ſtone; How 'twas rais'd, divine:
If more than one; ſhew, where they do combine.

In *Rome* there ſtands alſo an Obelisk of one ſolid ſtone, a kind of Ophite, or ſpotted Marble, anciently conſecrated to the honour of the great *Julius Cæſar*, and erected on the left ſide of the *Vatican Temple*, in the Cirque of *Nero*; but, in the year 1586, removed into a more eminent place, at the vaſt charge of Pope *Sixtus Quintus*, and by the admirable skill of *Dominicus Fontanus*, an excellent Architect. Which is in height 170 foot, above the baſe; in breadth, at the bottom, 12 foot, and at the top 8; in weight 956148 pounds, beſides the heavineſs of the Inſtruments or Engines uſed in raiſing it, that amounted to 1042824 pounds, according to the computation of *Georgius Drandius*, (*in adnotationib. ad Solini memorabilia, part.* 1. *fol.* 131.) The removing of this Obelisk was ſo rare a piece of Art, that beſides the vaſt treaſure he received in reward, the Engineer got immortal renown thereby; no leſs than 56 learned men expreſly celebrating his praiſes; as *Monantholius* (*in Comment. in Ariſt. Mechanic. cap.* 19.) remarketh. If ſo; what did thoſe deſerve, who firſt digged the ſame out of the Marble Quarries of *Egypt*, and brought it entire to *Rome*? Doubtleſs this was much the more glorious enterpriſe of the two.

Now, after theſe ſuperlative Examples, what think you of our *Stone-heng*, betwixt which and thoſe, as to dimenſions, is no more proportion, than betwixt a Pygmie and a Giant? Can you allow it

to

to have been ſo wonderful a task, for a whole Army of Men, and multitudes of Oxen, to tranſport the ſtones thereof, in a plain and champian Country; eſpecially ſeeing the biggeſt of its ſtones exceed not 12 Tun weight, and many of them not 2 Tun; and that the diſtance from *Rockley*, and *Aibury*, from whence, it ſeems, they were fetched, to the place where they were ſet up, is not above 20 miles at moſt? You'l object, perchance; that thoſe mighty works were performed by Nations, among which were many excellent Mathematicians, and great Maſters in the Art of Mechaniques, to which all weights are eaſily moveable, and which containeth Demonſtrative Rules how the ſtrongeſt Oake may be torn up by the roots with a Horſe-hair, as the learned Author of *Mathematical Magique* hath well obſerved, and clearly proved, (*book* 1. *chap.* 14.): but this of *Stone-heng* by a rude and barbarous people, utterly ignorant of ſuch Machines and artificial helps. To this, therefore, I *anſwer*; That it doth not appear the *Danes* were ſo rude, as to have no acquaintance at all with the uſe of Engines for the elevation of monſtrous weights: but rather the contrary, inſomuch as their carrying even Rocks themſelves from the Sea-ſhore to the very heart of their Country, of which I have formerly ſpoken, ſufficiently intimates their being verſed in the uſe of the *Leaver*, *Roller*, *Wheel*, *Pulley*, *Wedge*, and *Screw*, which are fundamental *Faculties* of Mechaniques, it being ſcarce conceivable, how otherwiſe they ſhould raiſe ſuch portentous Monuments, as they did. But allowing them to have been as Unskilful, as You pleaſe, in ſuch Inſtruments; yet conſider how *Numerous* they were, and how ſtrenuouſly great ſwarms of them uſed to joyn hands together in ſuch attempts; and you have not forgot the old Verſe, *Multorum manibus grande levatur onus*, Many hands make light work. What prodigious matters may be effected by meer ſtrength and hand-force of great Multitudes, without Rules of Art, may be diſcerned from the ſavage *Indians*; who being deſtitute of other Mathematiques, but what Nature dictated to them, and wanting the advantage of Engines, did yet by their ſimple toyl and indefatigible diligence, remove ſtones of incredible greatneſs. For, *Acoſta* (*Hiſtor. Indic. lib.* 6. *cap.* 14.) relates, that he meaſured one ſtone brought to *Tiaguanaco*, which was 38 foot long, 18 broad, and 6 thick: and that in their ſtatelieſt Edifices were many other of much vaſter magnitude.

To conclude, therefore, with a ſhort review of what hath hitherto bee

been delivered at large, and assist your Judgment, by relieving your Memory; considering (1) that of all Nations in the world, none was so much addicted to Monuments of huge and unhewn stones, as the *Danes* appear to have been, for many hundred of years together; (2) that they used to set such up, not onely in their own Country, but in all other places also, where-ever the fortune of war had at any time made their adventures and atchievments memorable; and more particularly in *England* and *Scotland*; (3) that in *Denmark*, at this day, there stand many stupendious Piles of stones, in most particulars agreeing with that, of which I have now discoursed; (4) that upon a strict and impartial inquest, neither the antient *Britains*, nor *Romans*, nor *Saxons*, are found to have any justifiable title to the honor of founding that of *Stone-heng*; (5) that no one of our old Historians made mention of any such work, until long after the *Danes* had acquired the Soveraign Power in this Island, and left sundry memorials of their victorious Armies; (6) that the great impairment of the Fabrick since that time of the Danique conquest, doth not evince it to be of greater antiquity; (7) that neither the Magnificence of the same, at first; (8) nor the vastness of strength, and skill in Engines, required to the transportation and elevation of stones of such prodigious weight; are sufficient Arguments to the contrary: considering these things, I say, why may I not conjecture, that *the Danes*, and onely the *Danes were the Authors of Stone-heng*? Sure I am of thus much, that this Opinion of mine, if it be erroneous, is yet highly plausible: having this advantage over the others concerning the same obscure subject, that it is not so easily to be refuted. Nor is it arrogancy in me, to affirm, that if I have been deceived in entertaining this conceipt in the place of Truth; it was because I found it in the livery and colours of Truth. However, I expect you should consider; it is no dishonor to even the best Marksman, not to hit the white, when he is forced to shoot in the dark. Which consideration being alone sufficient to secure my wel-intended endeavours, from too severe and disingenious censure, in case it shall hereafter be discovered, that I have been mistaken in the Main thing sought after, namely, the Authors of our Antiquity: I doubt not, but your Candor will extend it also to the favourable construction of my suppositions concerning the Circumstances.

In the strength of this confidence, therefore, I adventure to acquaint you moreover with my conjecture concerning the TIME, when

Stone-heng

Stone-heng was first set up: which I take to be in the beginning of the reign of that Excellent Prince, *Alfred*, or *Alured*; whom he was the first annointed King of this Island, so was he the first Learned King, and most munificent Patron to Scholars, that ever swaied the Scepter of *Britain*. For, all our Chronicles agreeingly deliver, that He was scarcely seated in his throne, when there came over greater swarms of *Danes*, than ever before, to infest his dominions; and that after many unfortunate battails with them, he was reduced to that extremity, that leaving his large Monarchy to the rage and rapine of those insulting Pagans, he fled for safety of his life into the Marishes of *Sommersetshire*, where for two years he lay concealed in a poor disguise, susteining himself by fishing and fowling. Among other adventures that befell this glorious person in this dark Eclipse, it is not unworthy remembrance, that on a time as he was sitting in the chimney corner in the cottage of a Cow-heard (who had entertained him into his service) and busied in trimming his bow and arrows; a Cake of dough lying to be baked on the hearth before him, chanced to be burned; which the goodwife imputing to his neglect, in great fury cast away his bow and arrows, and sharply checking him, said; *Thou fellow, dost thou see the bread burn before thy face, and wilt not turn it? and yet thou art glad to eat it, before it be half baked.* Shortly after this, learning policy from adversity, and deriving courage from necessity; he ventured, in the habit of a common Minstrel, to enter into the *Danes* Camp (in *Wiltshire*, and probably not far from the place, where *Stone-heng* stands) and having viewed the manner of their encamping, and observed their security, he returned back to several of his Lords retreated into the Island called *Edlingsey*, invironed with two Rivers, *Thane* and *Parret*, in *Somersetshire*, and acquainting them in how careless and open a posture he found the Enemy; recollected the scatter'd remains of his forces, and with these surprising the *Danes*, and putting them first into a panick terror, and then to flight, gave them so considerable a defeat, that they immediately submitted to a Treaty, and deliver'd Hostages for performance of conditions.

Now, considering the extreme low ebb of Fortune, to which this excellent King was at that time brought; and the high flood of prosperity that in the mean while had advanced the *Danes* over all parts of his Dominions, insomuch that nothing seemed wanting to complete their conquest, but only to find out the few Defendants who remained in obscurity; and withall reflecting upon the former mentioned Cu-

ſtome of that ambitious and martial Nation, to erect Courts Royal of huge ſtones, according to the manner deſcribed, for the Election of their Kings, in all Countries, where the happy ſucceſs of their Armes had given them a title to Soveraignty: I am apt to believe, that having then over-run the whole Kingdom, except only *Somerſetſhire*, and encamping their main Army in *Wiltſhire*, for neer upon two years together; and ſetting up their reſt in a confidence to perpetuate their newly acquired power; they imployed themſelves, during that time of leaſure and jollity, in erecting *Stone-heng*, as a place wherein to elect and inaugurate their ſupreme Commander, King of *England*: the weakneſs of the diſtreſſed *Alfred* affording them a fit opportunity, and that country yielding them fit materials for ſo great and ſtupedious a work. Nor is it improbable, that the great ſupinity and diſorder, in which the Royal Spie found them, when the magique of his Fiddle had charmed them into an imperception of the majeſty of his perſon, and procured him a free welcome into their Camp; might be occaſioned by the jubile they celebrated, after they had finiſhed that laborious task, and therein newly crowned their King, after a triumphal manner, ſuch as at once correſponded with the faſhion of their Anceſtors, and expreſſed the profuſeneſs of their publick joy. For many of our Hiſtorians relate, that the Danish Army was at that time lee looſe to luxury and revelling; and that the unknown Muſician was brought to play before their King, *Gormund*, in his tent, during a long and magnificent feaſt. But, perhaps, I may be thought too bold, in daring, from ſuch ſlender paſſages and circumſtantial hints, thus preciſely to gueſs at the Age of this Antiquity; concerning whoſe Original neither Hiſtory, nor Tradition hath left any glimpſe of light, whereby the inquiſitive might be guided through the darkſome vale of Uncertainty, to the delightfull manſion of Truth. Leaving every man, therefore, to the liberty of his own thoughts, touching this particular, as alſo whatever elſe hath been ſaid of the Monument it ſelf, and its original Deſignation: I here put a period to this Diſcourſe, wherein though I have adventured to contend with Oblivion; I had no deſign to uſurp upon the Judgment of others.

FINIS.